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STERN RECKONING

A Survey of the Events leading up to and following the Partition of India

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by

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MORTAL Prudence, handmaid of divine Providence,
hath inscrutable reckoning with Fate and Fortune :
We sail a changeful sea through halcyon days and storm,
and when the ship laboureth, our stedfast purpose
trembles like as the compass in a binnacle.
Our stability is but balance, and wisdom lies
in masterful administration of the unforeseen.

ROBERT BRIDGES—*Testament of Beauty*

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FOREWORD

IN the history of communal relations, the years 1946-47 mark a period of unequalled mistrust, acerbity and frenzied warfare in almost all parts of India. Tension between the Muslim and non-Muslim communities increased till the cords that bound them together snapped and flung them apart—it seemed for ever. Came the horrors of Calcutta, Noakhali, Bihar and, after a brief interval, the tragic events enacted in the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Sind. Large numbers of Hindus left Calcutta and Noakhali to seek shelter in Bihar and other parts of India. A similar exodus of Muslims from Bihar was witnessed in October 1946. In March 1947 several parts of West Punjab were ablaze and nearly half a million Hindus and Sikhs abandoned their homes and migrated to the eastern districts. They brought harrowing tales of murder, rapine, arson and wholesale destruction of property. Every item of news added to the wrath and horror of the non-Muslims in India and exacerbated still further the bitterness between the two communities. Retaliation followed and during the five months August-December 1947, the provinces of East and West Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Sind were convulsed with the pangs of a terrible fratricidal war. And while killing, burning and looting were taking place everywhere, a two-way mass movement of the population added to the confusion. The Muslims were travelling westward to Pakistan and the non-Muslims were leaving Pakistan for India.

Millions of Hindus and Sikhs, forced to leave their homes and migrate eastward, arrived on the soil of the newly born Dominion of India. Every one of them had a grim tale to tell. Some of the stories related by the refugees were, no doubt, exaggerated ; the newspaper reports were not always accurate ; but the total denial of these happenings by the Government of Pakistan was hardly calculated to appease the rising temper of the Indian people. It was necessary that a true and authoritative account of the happenings in West Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Sind should be available for the future student of History and, to this end, the Government of India set up a Fact Finding Organization in the beginning of 1948. This Organization examined thousands of refugees and recorded their statements. Every attempt was made to achieve accuracy and check the veracity of the witnesses. Many of them were apt to magnify

their sufferings and losses and inflate the figures of casualties. A scaling down of numbers was necessary and much of the evidence had to be rejected for no other reason than that it lacked corroboration. After a careful and detailed study of the evidence so collected the narrative set out in these pages was prepared.

This book is intended to give the reader a survey of the events leading up to the partition of India and an account of the widespread disturbances which took place in the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Sind during the year 1947. In the first chapter an attempt has been made to analyse the facts and state the causes which led the Muslim League to make a demand for partition. The second chapter contains an account of the riots in Calcutta, East Bengal and Bihar during the second half of 1946. Chapters Three, Four and Seven deal with the Punjab disturbances and Chapters Five and Six are devoted to the events in Sind and the North-West Frontier Province respectively. Chapters Three to Six are based on the material collected by the Fact Finding Organization. For the material of Chapter Two the writer is indebted to various official and unofficial reports, the accuracy of which is beyond suspicion. In compiling Chapter Seven the writer had to rely mainly on newspaper reports and some official documents which, however, did not give a complete account of what happened. This was inevitable in the nature of things as first-hand evidence of these events was not available. Exaggerated accounts of the atrocities perpetrated in East Punjab have been published in Pakistan ; some of these emanated from official sources. It is not the purpose of this book to answer the charges contained in these reports, nor is it intended that the account given here should be used as propaganda. The sole aim of the writer has been to give a true and objective narrative which would serve as a historical record for the future.

The tables in Appendix II have been compiled from the evidence of witnesses. Only some selected instances from a number of villages in each district have been given. Care has been exercised in selecting the various items and any incident which appeared to be doubtful or exaggerated has been studiously excluded.

The writer is deeply indebted to a number of friends who have read these pages and have made many helpful suggestions.

I

Between man and other animals there are various differences, some intellectual, some emotional. One of the chief emotional differences is that some human desires, unlike those of animals, are essentially boundless and incapable of complete satisfaction.

Imagination is the goad that forces human beings into restless exertion after their primary needs have been satisfied.

To those who have but little of power and glory, it may seem that a little more would satisfy them, but in this they are mistaken: these desires are insatiable and infinite, and only in the infinitude of God could they find repose.

Of the infinite desires of man, the chief are the desires for power and glory.

BERTRAND RUSSELL—*Power*

CHAPTER ONE

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS

THE great upheaval which shook India from one end to the other during a period of about fifteen months commencing with August 16, 1946, was an event of unprecedented magnitude and horror. History has not known a fratricidal war of such dimensions in which human hatred and bestial passions were degraded to the levels witnessed during this dark epoch when religious frenzy, taking the shape of a hideous monster, stalked through cities, towns and countryside, taking a toll of half a million innocent lives. Decrepit old men, defenceless women, helpless young children, infants in arms, by the thousand, were brutally done to death by Muslim, Hindu and Sikh fanatics. Destruction and looting of property, kidnapping and ravishing of women, unspeakable atrocities and indescribable inhumanities were perpetrated in the name of religion and patriotism. To be a Hindu, Sikh or a Muslim became a crime punishable with death. Madness swept over the entire land, in an ever-increasing crescendo, till reason and sanity left the minds of rational men and women, and sorrow, misery, hatred, despair took possession of their souls. A Sikh or a Hindu dared not show his face in the place where he and his forefathers had lived for centuries, and a Muslim was forced to abandon his native soil, his home and his property.

Yet for over a thousand years the various communities had lived together in peace and amity. United India had a population of 389 million (1941) comprising 255 million Hindus (including members of Scheduled Castes), 92 million Muslims, 6.3 million Christians, 5.6 million Sikhs and a number of smaller communities. There were Muslim majority areas (in the North-East and the North-West) and Hindu majority areas, but no part of India was exclusively inhabited by any one community. Everywhere Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs lived together as neighbours. In the urban areas the various communities could not, in the very nature of things, live in separate airtight compartments. There were, no doubt, Hindu *mohallas*, Sikh *mohallas* and Muslim *mohallas*, but these were situated side by side and it could not be said of any town in India that it was owned or inhabited by one community or that any particular area of the town belonged exclusively to the Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs. In the provinces of the Punjab, Sind

and Bengal, at least, even the rural population was of a mixed character. There were Hindu villages, Muslim villages and Sikh villages, but all three communities were to be found in greater or smaller numbers in every village. Hindu and Sikh landlords had Muslim tenants and *kamins*.* Muslim landlords had Hindu tenants, and employed Hindus as managers and accountants. Hindu industrialists in towns and factories had Muslim workers. Religion had never interfered with social relations to any great extent. The unifying force of geographical entity, historical and cultural influences, extending over a period of ten centuries, had welded the various elements into a homogeneous whole. This was scarcely surprising for more than 90 per cent of the Muslim and Sikh population consisted of converts from Hinduism and belonged to the same stock, and had the same traditions as the Hindus. The converts in many cases retained even the old religious ceremonies; they differed but little in appearance or dress and behaved as members of the same society. This was particularly true of the rural areas. There had, no doubt, been occasional clashes between the communities but these were sporadic and very short-lived. The direct cause was almost invariably an economic or political disturbance rather than the religious factor. Riots usually occurred among the lower classes and the communal tension among them was spasmodic, though, when it occurred, it took an intense form. The peasant rising around Calcutta in 1831 was hardly a communal riot. The peasants broke into the houses of Muslim and Hindu landlords with perfect impartiality. The Mymensingh disturbance of May 1907 was really nothing more than the rising of the Muslim peasantry against their Hindu landlords and creditors. They would probably have risen with the same ferocity had the landlords and creditors been Muslims. The Mopla Revolt, which is often quoted as one of the worst communal disturbances and which was exploited by the British Government to their great profit, was also a rising of the oppressed and poverty-stricken peasants. The Bombay riots of 1929 were riots between the mill-workers who went on strike and the Pathan strike breakers. Riots in the Punjab were seldom handled with tact or imagination, and the indifference or incompetence of British officials in dealing with communal disturbances was frequently ascribed to the policy of Divide and Rule. Minor differences in

* Village menials and labourers in charge of rural crafts, e.g., carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, shoemakers, potters, tailors, etc.

custom and outlook never stood in the way of the various communities living together in the most amicable and friendly manner. Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs used to meet each other on terms of equality. They dined * at each other's houses and seldom allowed their religious persuasions to interfere with their social and friendly intercourse. In the United Provinces the relations between the Hindus and Muslims were extremely cordial. Muslims went to play *Holi* with their Hindu friends while Hindus always went to their Muslim friends on the occasion of the *Id* festival.

The riots were confined mostly to the urban areas. The rural population, which comprises nearly 90 per cent of the total population of India, has always remained peaceful. Louis Fischer, in his book, "A Week with Gandhi," refers to this circumstance† which was also observed by the Simon Indian Statutory Commission, who presented a report to the Viceroy in May 1930.‡ This neighbourly feeling rose on occasions to emotional heights, such as during the days of the Khilafat movement when Hindus and Muslims could be seen eating together and drinking from the same bowl. Even in the North-West Frontier Province the turbulent and fanatic Pathan lived on terms of friendship with his Hindu neighbour. Their relations were free from suspicion, bitterness, or any kind of hostility on grounds of religion. Unity in variety has been insisted upon as a peculiar characteristic of India. This was not a piece of wishful thinking but a true statement of the actual state of affairs—a statement reiterated by those who saw that the destructive forces of disruption were beginning to appear in some places.

These disruptive and separatist tendencies had their origin in a movement of national revival which took place during the nineteenth century by way of a moral defence against British domination. The impact of Western thought and civilization in

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* This is naturally not true of the very orthodox Hindus who never dine outside the narrow limits of their caste and would refuse to eat from the hands of an outsider, Hindu or Muslim.

† "Caroe (the Viceroy's Secretary for Foreign Affairs who worked for many years as a British official in the Punjab) and Jenkins (a high British official in the Department of Supplies)", I said, "told me that there were no communal differences in the villages, and I heard from others, too, that the relations between the two religious communities are peaceful in the villages. If that is so, that is very important because India is ninety per cent village."

‡ "There is among the Hindu minority in Sind a feeling that the independence of the (British) Commissioner is too great, while on the Mahomedan side there is a well-known cry for separation from Bombay. This demand has gathered strength not so much in the homes of the people or among the Mahomedan cultivators of Sind, as among the leaders of Mahomedan thought all over India to whom the idea of a new Muslim Province, contiguous to the predominantly Muslim areas of Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province, and the Punjab, naturally appeals as offering a stronghold against the fear of Hindu domination."

the first half of the nineteenth century led to an awakening of political consciousness and a sense of frustration in the face of British imperialism. In the desire to re-capture self-esteem the Indian mind harked back to the ancient Hindu and Muslim cultures. The Hindu mind sought solace in the memory of the Golden Age of Hindu imperialism and the Vedas. The founding of the Brahmo Samaj by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1828, of the Arya Samaj by Swami Daya Nand in 1875, the revival of Shivaji's cult in the Maharashtra and the anti-cow-killing campaign by Bal Gangadhar Tilak marked the various steps in the Hindu revivalist movement. The Hindu mind, in trying to rehabilitate its lost pride, sought an escape in glorifying its ancient achievements towards which the Muslims had made no contribution, and Hindu revivalism, therefore, took a religious and communal form. By a similar psychological process the Muslims took their minds back to the glory of the Prophet, the Khilafat and the Muslim conquest of the countries around the Mediterranean. These trends found expression in the Wahabi movement, the activities of Syed Ahmad of Rae-Bareli and the Mutiny of 1857 in which Hindus and Muslims made common cause against the foreign oppressor. It is to be observed that these revivalist tendencies were faint and hardly noticeable until the latter half of the nineteenth century when the differences between the Hindu and Muslim thought began to get more and more pronounced. Thus it was that, by a most unfortunate process of human psychology, the mental defences raised against foreign domination, and barriers, intended to restore self-esteem and moral rehabilitation, became fissiparous tendencies. As the revivalist movement gathered force, its momentum carried it beyond the limits of safety and sanity. The buffers of reason proved quite inadequate to arrest this emotional rush, and, before the end of the nineteenth century, signs of mutual suspicion and antagonism had begun to appear with disturbing frequency. Hindús and Muslims began to assert themselves as separate entities by withdrawing themselves from each other's festivals, by wearing different dress, observing distinctive manners, and by each demanding a separate language and educational institutions. Hindu culture and Muslim culture were now mentioned as distinct and irreconcilable conceptions.

There arose a desire for power, for communal supremacy and for the assertion of Hindu rule and Muslim rule. The lengths to which the respective protagonists carried their logic was amazing.

A scheme was drafted in all seriousness for organizing a society of workers to achieve a free India which would in effect be a Hindu India:

"Should the Society consist only of Hindus? In my opinion, yes, for—(*a*) A harmonious sentiment, based on common memories, literature and polity can be produced in its full intensity among Hindus.

"(*b*) The peasants will take the Society as their own, if it consists only of Hindus. We should look to the Jats, Rajputs, Sikhs and other Hindu populations and must not be carried away by our advanced notions. Politics is the art of manipulating the passions of large masses of men so as to achieve a desired object.

"(*c*) As no serious man can predict the indissoluble character of the union of Hindus and Mohammedans, it is advisable to lead the Mohammedans by means of Hindus. If you create the idea of political organization and sacrifice among Mohammedans, these are weapons which might be turned against the Hindus in the possible case of an English intrigue. The Mohammedan masses are so susceptible to religious mania that it is probable that if the idea of organization and communal service is accentuated in their midst, it will find its embodiment in a union of Muslims, which would be anti-Hindu in character. It is better to organize the Mohammedans by means of Hindus, for as soon as a Mohammedan worker will appeal to his co-religionists for national unity, his words will rouse only religious passion and the spell of Hindu-Mohammedan unity will be broken. Let us bring the Mohammedans into our camp by means of Hindu workers.

"(*d*) In using the word 'Swarajya' and appealing to the people we arouse Hindu associations. We would ask the Mohammedans to join us, but we must keep their masses under Hindu leadership. If you give them Mohammedan leaders, you tread on dangerous ground.

"(*e*) Many enthusiastic young men, zealous for the freedom of the Fatherland, think that the introduction of Mohammedans will bring in a jarring note. I know more than six or seven young men of the Punjab who will give up all worldly prospects for a Hindu Society, but not for a mixed one. I think Mr. Tilak and Mr. Lajpat Rai will agree in this opinion." *

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* The scheme was drawn by Lala Hardyal in 1906 when he was in England and sent to Pandit Shyama Krishna Varma for consideration.

The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, founded in Maharashtra in 1925, raised the cry of "Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan."

A Muslim writer argued:

"There is not an inch of the soil of India which our fathers did not once purchase with their blood. We cannot be false to the blood of our fathers. India, the whole of it, is therefore our heritage and it must be re-conquered for Islam. Expansion in the spiritual sense is an inherent necessity of our faith and implies no hatred or enmity towards the Hindus. Rather the reverse. Our ultimate ideal should be the unification of India, spiritually as well as politically, under the banner of Islam. The final political salvation of India is not otherwise possible."*

In 1933 Choudhary Rahmat Ali, a Punjabi, residing in Cambridge, evolved a scheme for the partition of India. His original idea was that those portions of India in which the Muslims were in a majority, should be partitioned and made into a sovereign State which would constitute the homeland of the Muslims and Muslim culture. Choudhary Rahmat Ali developed his idea and his imagination expanded the little dark cloud until it covered the entire sky. In the beginning Pakistan was to consist of the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan only. Later, encouraged by the reception which was given to it by the Muslim League, in 1940, he initiated the second part of his programme embracing Bangistan, which was to include Bengal and Assam, and Osmanistan, comprising Hyderabad (Deccan). He thus evolved the conception of Dinia and finally of Pakasia, which he called "The Historic Orbit of the Pak Culture." Choudhary Rahmat Ali's naiveté would be amusing, had it not led to so much disaster in the country. He defined 'Dinia' in the following manner:

"Dinia is the new designation and destiny of the old, anteHinduvian 'India,' which is dying its well-deserved death. It is obvious that the word 'Dinia' is composed of the letters of the word 'India' itself and that, in the arrangement of letters, there is only one change. This is the transposition of the letter 'd' in 'India' to the first place. That is all."

Yes, that is all, but what is the implication of 'Dinia'? Choudhary Rahmat Ali says that the old name 'India' was both a misnomer and a menace. "It was a misnomer because it

* "The Meaning of Pakistan," by F. K. Khan Durrani.

literally and politically meant that India was the domain of only Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos ; . . . It was a menace because it was being systematically exploited by Indians (Caste Hindoos) to 'Indianize' the non-Indians and to make them nationally honourless, rightless and futureless in the lands of their birth." The introduction of democratic institutions involving the counting of heads raised the hopes of the Hindus and shattered the dreams of Muslim domination. A feeling of frustration grew and the Muslim mind began to show signs of a fear complex and an obsession which was used to stir up hatred of everything Hindu. It was said that with a Hindu majority government in power:

" Nothing will be left undone to crush the Islamic spirit and distinctions, destroy the Muslim moral and social fabric, the education and training of future generations and alter the entire phase of Islamic life, e.g., a law may be made that if a Muslim girl marries a non-Muslim the union will be taken as valid. Even forced marriages will obviously be presumed, or, decided to be, voluntary, with non-Muslim Judges to decide such cases. Urdu may be replaced by Hindi as *lingua franca* for India. Conversion to Islam, use of beef for food, or sacrifice, uttering a call for prayer, resentment to noise before mosques at prayer time, teaching or propagating the Holy Quran, building up of mosques and a hundred other Muslim customs and traditions may be stopped by legislation ; and they will have power to execute such laws."*

These effusions, though not authoritative utterances, are fairly representative of the channels in which extremist thought was running.

The differences between the communities were accentuated and magnified by economic factors, commercial competition and professional rivalry. The Muslims did not, as eagerly as the Hindus, take to Western education and Western culture. In the race for employment in Government service and the liberal professions, they started late and the initial handicap persisted. After the Mutiny of 1857 the British Government adopted a policy of repression against the Muslim upper and middle classes on the ground that they were responsible for the Mutiny. Sir Sayed Ahmad saw the dangerous consequences of this line of action and realized that the salvation of Muslims could only be achieved by the spread of Western

* S. N. A. Qadri—" A Muslim's Inner Voice."

learning among them and by their unqualified loyalty to the British rule. He repelled the suggestion that the Muslims were anti-British or that the Mutiny was an attempt to restore Moghul rule in India. An essay written by him in 1858 in which he had urged the policy of " divide and rule " was resuscitated from oblivion and published in an English translation in 1873. He exhorted the Muslims to embrace Western culture and study modern science. The Mahommedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh was founded and the European Principals of this College played an important part in leading the Muslim agitation for preferential treatment in Government posts and the bourgeois professions. During his later years, Sir Sayed began to evince an obsession of Hindu domination. The demands for greater Muslim representation increased with the realization that official position and participation in the administrative machinery brought power and prestige.

In the business and industrial spheres the non-Muslims had obtained an initial advantage which increased and multiplied rapidly. Commercial activity first came to India in parts where the Muslim influence was least. In Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, the main centres of the East India Company activities, the non-Muslims were in a majority and their intellectual and financial resources enabled them to forge ahead and leave the Muslims behind. The most important businesses and industries were captured by them and the Muslims felt that they had irretrievably lost the position of supremacy once held by them. There was constant harping on the theme that they had been relegated to the status of drawers of water and hewers of wood. The Hindus were accused of exploiting and impoverishing the Muslims. This agitation was conducted solely by the Muslim middle classes, for the peasantry (which forms the bulk of the Hindu and Muslim population) had no such grievances and it was only among the bourgeois elements that separatist tendencies were most noticeable. In the demand for Pakistan the Muslim officials and the Muslim commercial interests raised the loudest voice. The Muslim writers and politicians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were for the most part drawn from the class of Government servants. Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan was for a time an Additional Member of the Governor-General's Council and served on a number of Government Commissions. Chiragh Ali, Professor Salah-ud-Din Khuda Bakhsh of Calcutta, Abdulla Yusaf Ali whose writings to a considerable extent shaped the modernist movement

in Islamic thought were all Government servants. When Pakistan became a realizable dream and the partition of India was imminent, Muslim officials and administrators played a very important part in shaping the course of events and precipitating the disastrous results that followed.

These differences were observed by the British Government and exploited in order to further their imperialistic aims in the country. As early as 1843 the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, wrote, "I cannot close my eyes to the belief that that race (the Muslims) is fundamentally hostile to us and our true policy is to conciliate the Hindus." Mountstuart Elphinstone advised "*Divide et Impera* was the old Roman motto and it should be ours." It has been already observed that after the Mutiny of 1857 a determined attempt was made to suppress the Muslims. This was soon carried to dangerous limits and a British official, W. W. Hunter, pointed out that the Muslim population was being shut out from official employ and from the recognized professions. He also drew attention to the British spoliation and extermination of the old Muslim educational system. This was a reference to the resumption of rent-free grants of land made by the Muslim rulers in Bengal. The grantees were responsible for financing a large number of Muslim educational institutions. With the establishment and progress of the Indian National Congress the pendulum of British favouritism swung in the opposite direction, and means were sought to provide a counterpoise to Congress aims. Lord Curzon brought about the partition of Bengal in order to "shatter the unity and to disintegrate the feeling of solidarity" in the province. This fostered the growth of Mahommedan power in Eastern Bengal by way of a check to the rapidly growing strength of the Hindu community. The events which culminated in the founding of the Muslim League and the introduction of separate electorates in 1909 make instructive reading. In the winter of 1905-06 the Prince of Wales (afterwards King George V) made a tour of India. On his return to England he told Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, that the National Congress was rapidly becoming a great power. On May 11, 1906, Lord Morley wrote to the Viceroy, Lord Minto, and drew his attention to what the Prince of Wales had observed. A week later Lord Minto replied, "I have been thinking a good deal lately of a possible counterpoise to Congress aims." He suggested a Council of Princes of the native Rulers and a few other important persons.

He added, "Subjects for discussion and procedure would have to be very carefully thought out, but we should get different ideas from those of the Congress." On June 19, 1906, Lord Morley again wrote to Lord Minto and warned him that "before long Muslims will throw in their lot with Congressmen against you." Mr. Archbold, Principal, Aligarh College, now took a hand and had a talk with the Private Secretary to the Viceroy. On August 10, 1906, Mr. Archbold wrote to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk a letter in which he suggested that a deputation of Muslims should wait upon the Viceroy and ask for certain concessions.* Mr. Archbold was anxious that his own name should "remain behind the screen." On October 1, 1906, a Muslim delegation. led by His Highness the Aga Khan, waited on the Viceroy and presented an address. Lord Minto in his reply conceded the Muslim demands. He said, "Your address, as I understand it, is a claim that, in any system of representation, whether it affects a Municipality, a District Board, or Legislative Council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organization, the Mahommedan community should be represented as a community. . . . I am entirely in accord with you. . . . I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement, regardless of the beliefs and traditions of communities composing the population of this continent." The gratification of Lord Minto and Lady Minto at the successful conclusion of this episode was recorded in Lady Minto's Diary.† An official wrote to her commenting on her husband's work of statesmanship. "It is nothing less," he said, "than the pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition." The same year the All-India Muslim Conference which subsequently became the All-India Muslim League was founded.

The Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 introduced separate electorates and erected a formidable and impregnable barrier between the two major communities of India. Hindus and Muslims henceforth began to have distinct and antagonistic political aspirations. Each community felt little need of canvassing the support of the other community. The electorate was divided into watertight compartments and in each compartment communal

* For the text of the letter see Appendix I—Note (ii) to Chapter I.
† See Appendix I—Note (iii) to Chapter I.

ferment and communal hostility increased. A Muslim candidate's appeal was formulated only for the Muslim electorate and this had the inevitable result of putting extremist views at a premium. Sectional opinion was thus promoted, at the cost of public opinion, and the interests of the nation were sacrificed to the interests of the community. The poison introduced in 1909 increased and spread throughout the body politic as the franchise was enlarged. In 1909 the electorate numbered only about a million. It was increased in 1919 to more than seven millions and by the Government of India Act of 1935 more than thirty-six million voters were created, every one of whom thought, spoke and acted on communal lines.

Employment in Government service, entry to educational and professional institutions were fixed on communal basis. Communal-minded people, both Hindu and Muslim, were encouraged by being awarded high positions and titles,* while people who worked for inter-communal harmony were in danger of imprisonment. Press censorship was worked on a preferential basis. No restrictions were placed on Muslim papers that advocated murder for apostasy. The British press repeatedly attempted to stir up communal discord in nationalistic movements, e.g., by insinuating that Khudai Khidmatgars were anti-Hindu rather than anti-British. More room was given in London papers to communal questions and very little to nationalist ones. Nationalist Muslims hardly ever found mention in these papers. The split between the communities was gradually widened and, by carefully calculated and judiciously delivered blows, the wedge was driven in deeper on every possible occasion. The Muslim personnel of the Round Table Conference of 1930 and the subsequent Conferences was chosen out of the most communal Muslims. Mian Fazl-i-Husain who was a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council advised in the choice of the Muslim delegates and the names of nationalist-minded Muslims were removed from the list of nominees. When it was found that Mr. Jinnah did not support all the communal demands at the first Round Table Conference, no invitation was issued to him for the subsequent Conferences. Later, when he changed his views, he was accepted as a leader of all Muslims in spite of the fact that he represented only a small minority of them. The case of forty-five million Momins, the Khudai

* A study of the list of title-holders will indicate the extent to which communal-minded individuals, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs were encouraged and rewarded for their anti-nationalist activities.

Khidmatgars, the Khaksars, the Ahrar Party, the Mansooris and a number of other Muslim bodies who opposed Mr. Jinnah, the Muslim League and Pakistan, was never considered. The Communal Award of 1932 which conceded almost all the demands of the Muslims was a cunning device to perpetuate the Hindu-Muslim differences.

The framers of the British imperialist policy at the top were ably assisted by the local administrators and officials. All possible means were adopted to maintain the strength of the British hold on India. Riots were encouraged and in some cases initiated. The peaceful and non-violent nationalist movement was ruthlessly suppressed. The uprising of the Mopla tenants against their landlords was utilized to spread disaffection among the two communities. The Moplas had committed certain atrocities against Hindus but these were only incidental to the general uprising which, as we have observed earlier, was really the protest of the tenants against their landlords. Photographs of Muslims cutting the *choti* of the Hindus and forcing beef down their throat were exhibited by the Government of the United Provinces in various places and particularly in the vicinity of temples and other sacred Hindu places. They were, for instance, exhibited in Ajudhia. A member of the United Provinces Legislative Assembly* asked a question about these photographs and pamphlets and the Government admitted that this propaganda was done at public expense. Indian officials who showed independence of spirit and integrity of purpose were discouraged, superseded and kept out of key posts, involving the exercise of personal discretion in important matters. Since a dishonest and corrupt official could be relied upon to carry out an anti-national policy, a blind eye was turned on dishonesty and no serious effort was made to stamp out corruption, while sycophants and anti-India officers were rewarded by appreciation and preferment.

The story of a secret deal between Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Churchill was revealed by Michael Foot, M.P., in an article published in the *Daily Herald*, the official organ of the British Labour Party. Louis Fischer commented on the Churchill-Jinnah alliance in an article contributed to the *Hindusthan Standard*.†

During the disturbances of 1947 it was noticed that British and Anglo-Indian officers in Police, Military and Civil employ helped

* Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena.
† Note (iv) in Appendix I.

the Muslim League organization in a most reprehensible manner. In Orissa it was found that Muslim hooligans were given arms imported from Java by army men and distributed by English and Anglo-Indian officers. Large quantities of arms and ammunition were stolen from and smuggled out of the Ordnance Depot at Jubbulpore and the information of the police was that English Police and Army Officers were concerned in this smuggling. Hawkins, a British Army Officer, was tried and found guilty of possessing unlicensed arms. He was alleged to be a member of a secret organization controlled by the Churchill Group of Conservatives, having agents all over India. These agents had been stirring disaffection among the Muslims and distributing arms to them. The Commander of the Boundary Force in the Punjab, entrusted with the task of maintaining law and order in the areas alongside the boundary between East and West Punjab, was frequently accused of criminal apathy in putting down the disturbances. It was impossible to prove any specific charges, but when the volume of complaints increased, the Government of India removed him from this important post. When it became certain that the British Government had finally decided upon the transfer of power to Indians and a complete relinquishment of authority in India was imminent, the British officials were sullen and angry. They realized that the era of their power and glory was about to come to an end. They predicted the most dire consequences for India and Indians. They had no urge or desire to control the forces of destruction and were quite content to see the break up of *Pax Britannica* which now appeared galling to them in the new political set-up.

Such was the result achieved by a hundred years of "divide and rule" policy.*

While the extreme Hindu and Muslim communal organizations assisted by the British administrators, embittered the once friendly and neighbourly relations of the two communities, the Indian National Congress endeavoured, by every possible means, to bring them together on a common platform, so that they could offer a united front to British imperialism. Founded in 1885, and completely secular in its composition and ideology, it met every year

* We make no apology for quoting the following from a letter written by Lord Olivier to the *London Times* on July 10, 1926:

"No one with any close acquaintance of Indian affairs will be prepared to deny that on the whole there is a predominant bias in British officialism in India in favour of the Moslem community, partly on the ground of closer sympathy but more largely as a make-weight against Hindu nationalism."

and soon mobilized the entire body of political consciousness in the country. Large numbers of Muslims joined the organization and at its Sixth Session held in Calcutta in 1890 there were 156 Muslim delegates out of a total of 702. Several of its sessions were presided over by Muslims.* Many of the foremost leaders of the Muslim community have been members of this nationalist organization. They found that its programme and ideology were not only consistent with Islamic ideals but were calculated to further and promote Islamic culture. According to Professor W. C. Smith,† some Muslims joined the National Congress because they were Muslims and because their religion taught them "freedom, equality of justice and co-operation with and respect for all mankind." Such were Hussain Ahmad Madni, an orthodox Ulema and Principal of the Deoband College, and Obedullah Sindhi, a fire-brand agitator. Then again there were Muslims who joined the Congress because they disapproved of the Muslim League developing into an anti-Hindu organization, e.g., Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, Dr. M. A. Ansari and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. There were others who joined the Congress because they were nationalist-minded. For them being a Muslim was wholly irrelevant to the question which party they should join. Mr. Badar-ud-Din Tayabji who presided over the Third National Congress and Yusaf Meharally are instances of such nationalist Muslims. Lastly, there were Muslims who had become anti-religious, such as young Muslim intellectuals and communists. The Congress hold on the Muslim mind remained firm until only a few years ago.

The Congress was opposed to sectarian politics and the principle of separate electorates. Unfortunately, the disastrous consequences of the separatist tendencies introduced by the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 were not fully realized and, in their anxiety to win over Muslim opinion at any cost whatever, the Congress leaders entered into a pact with the Muslim League in 1916,‡ whereby they accepted separate electorates for Muslims.

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* E.g., Mr. Badrudin Tayabjee, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

† "Modern Islam in India" by Wilfred Cantwell Smith.

‡ The Lucknow Pact of 1916 was a draft scheme, in outline, of Constitutional Reforms formulated by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reforms Sub-Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League, which amongst other constitutional proposals, accepted the principle "One-third of the Indian elected members should be Mohammedans elected by separate Mohammedan electorates in the several Provinces, in the proportion, as may be in which they are, represented in the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Mohammedan electorates."

This course of action may have seemed inevitable at the time but there can be no doubt that it was a most unfortunate sacrifice of nationalist ideals and a major blunder.

The same anxiety to secure the allegiance of the Muslim masses resulted in another sacrifice of secular ideals when, in 1920, the Congress espoused the Khilafat cause and adopted the dangerous course of borrowing religious emotions for gaining political ends. The artificial stimulant applied by the Civil Disobedience movement was followed by an apathetic reaction when the events in Turkey made the achievement of Khilafat a practical impossibility. The neutral attitude adopted by the Congress towards the Communal Award in 1932 was another unfortunate mistake, and alienated the Muslims. It failed to achieve national unity and provided Mr. Jinnah with an opportunity to say some harsh things about the Congress.

We have seen how a hundred years of revivalist tendencies, sixty years of economic rivalry, fostered and promoted by the insidious British policy of "divide and rule," and a generation of separate electorates created and steadily widened the gulf between the Muslims and non-Muslims of India. The efforts of the Congress to bridge this gulf had some measure of success and a final break was avoided for a considerable time. Failure, however, was inevitable and came partly because the British rulers always had the whip-hand and partly because the remedies applied were inadequate and not indicated by a correct diagnosis of the malady. It is in this context that the more recent events of the period 1937-46 must be studied.

The Government of India Act of 1935 was an extremely unsatisfactory measure and scarcely improved the existing position from the Indian standpoint. The powers of the provincial authorities were, no doubt, enlarged and extended, but the terms of the Act intensified the separatist tendencies inherent in the system of separate electorates, fortified the position of the bureaucracy by introducing a number of reservations which increased the scope of its executive functions and the Federal structure was intended to impede any real progress on nationalist lines. The Congress, however, on being assured that the British Governors would behave as gentlemen and not interfere in the day-to-day administration of the provinces, decided to enter the new Councils and work Provincial Autonomy under the Act. The Muslim League also came to a similar decision under the leadership of

Mr. Jinnah and resolved to create a Central Election Board in order to organize the election campaign and undertook "the policy and programme of mass contact."* Mr. Jinnah had scant success in achieving Muslim solidarity on a communal basis. The Muslim majority provinces were not willing to accept Mr. Jinnah's leadership and the results of the elections in 1937 were bitterly disappointing to him. Only 4.4 per cent of the Muslims who went to the polls voted for the Muslim League.† In Bihar, the Central Provinces, the North-West Frontier Province, Orissa and Sind not a single Muslim League candidate was elected. In the Punjab only two candidates (of whom one later resigned from the Muslim League) were returned as against 82 non-League Muslims. The League had partial success in Bengal, Bombay, the United Provinces and Madras, but in these provinces also, the number of non-League candidates returned was greatly in excess of the League candidates.‡ The Congress swept the polls and found itself in a position to form Ministries in eight out of eleven provinces (all except the Punjab, Bengal and Sind). The Muslim League had not expected such a wholesale rout and felt completely left out of the political game. It now began to hope for concessions from the Congress and asked for a share in the administration of the provinces by including Muslim League Ministers in the Cabinets. This request was not so fantastic as the Congress High Command, obsessed with the rules of British Parliamentary etiquette, seemed to think. Indeed in the United Provinces, the Congress had, in some constituencies, supported the League candidate and a tacit understanding appears to have grown up that after the elections a Coalition Ministry would be formed. The Congress did not expect to secure an absolute majority in the

* "Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah," edited by Jamil-ud-Din Ahmed.

† The total number of Muslim votes cast was 7,319,445 and of these only 321,772 voted for the Muslim League.

‡ The exact position was as follows:

Province	*Muslim League*	*Other Muslims*
Madras	11	17
Bombay	20	9
Bengal	40	77
United Provinces	27	37
Punjab	2	82
Bihar	Nil	39
Central Provinces	Nil	14
Assam	9	25
North-West Frontier Province	Nil	36
Orissa	Nil	4
Sind	Nil	36
Total	109	376

Legislature and it was assumed that it would have to rely on League co-operation. The Congress success at the polls was, however, phenomenal and entirely unexpected, and, flush with victory, the nationalist party declined to include a Muslim League member in the Government. The signing of the Congress pledge was made a condition precedent to participation in the Cabinet. There were no doubt good reasons for taking this step. It was argued that "the Congress itself was a kind of coalition or joint front of various groups tied together by the dominating urge for India's independence" and—

"A wider coalition meant a joining up with people whose entire political and social outlook was different, and who were chiefly interested in office and ministerships. Conflict was inherent in the situation, conflict with the representatives of British interest—the Viceroy, the Governor, the superior services; conflict also with vested interests in land and industry over agrarian questions and workers' conditions. The non-Congress elements were usually politically and socially conservative; some of them were pure careerists. If such elements entered Government, they might tone down our whole social programme or at any rate obstruct and delay it. There might even be intrigues with the Governor over the heads of the other Ministers. A joint front against the British authority was essential. Any breach in this would be harmful to our cause. There would have been no binding cement, no common loyalty, no united objective and individual Ministers would have looked and pulled in different directions."*

Mr. Nehru was somewhat impatient of the League and its insistence on separate representation and wanted the whole country to present a united front against the British rulers, but when he declared that "the parties that mattered in India are the Congress and the British, and others should line up with the Congress if they intended to survive," Mr. Jinnah was justifiably angry and retorted, "There is a third party, namely, the Mussalmans. We are not going to be dictated to by anybody. We are willing to co-operate with any group of a progressive and independent

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* Jawaharlal Nehru, "The Discovery of India."

It might be argued that the results predicted in these words were achieved when the Coalition Interim Government was formed in 1946. There is, however, no analogy between 1937 and 1946. In 1937 there was no question of partition of the country and the League had expressed the intention of working with the Congress.

In 1946 the League was not imbued with the same desire for co-operation as in 1937. In fact, the Muslim leaders openly declared that they had entered the Interim Government in order to achieve Pakistan.

character provided its programme and policy correspond to our own. We are willing to work as equal parties for the welfare of India."

The unwisdom of this parliamentary orthodoxy, however, soon became manifest when its effects on communal relations began to appear. The Muslim League leaders felt frustrated and chagrined. Mr. Jinnah was angry and gave unrestrained expression to his sentiments against Gandhiji and Mr. Nehru.* He called upon the Mussalmans of India to organize, consolidate and establish solidarity and unity. In October 1937, a session of the All-India Muslim League was held at Lucknow. This session was attended by Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab, Mr. Fazlul Haq, the Premier of Bengal, and Sir Saadullah Khan, the Premier of Assam, who had hitherto refused to fall into line with Mr. Jinnah. The Muslim League changed its creed from "Full Responsible Government" to "Full Independence," and decided to take immediate steps to "frame and put into effect an economic, social and educational programme." This was intended to muster popular support for the League and woo the non-League Muslim groups, e.g., the Coalition Party in the Punjab, the Krishak Proja Party in Bengal. The Sikandar-Jinnah Pact was concluded. An attempt was made to win the sympathies of the Indian Christians and members of the Scheduled Castes. Mr. Jinnah undertook a country-wide tour to establish contact with the masses. The Muslim League began to say that the Congress was a purely Hindu body and was perpetrating atrocities upon the Muslims, in the provinces where it was in power. The allegations regarding atrocities were somewhat vague and undefined but the main grievances may be briefly examined. The *Bande Mataram* was sung on official occasions. It was said that the associations of this song were anti-Muslim. The song occurs in Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novel "Ananda Math" which deals with the struggle of Bhavananda, the hero of the story, against the Muslim power in Bengal. The Congress agreed to retain only the first two stanzas of the song, but this did not satisfy the Muslim agitators. The use of the tricolour Congress flag on official buildings was another atrocity. The contention of the Congress was that the flag represented both the major communities and had been the symbol of the united fight of the Indians

* Mr. Jinnah's statement dated July 26, 1937, in reply to Babu Rajendra Prasad's offer, quoted in "Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah."

against British imperialism. The Wardha Scheme of Basic Education was another grievance. It is to be observed that the Committee which drafted this scheme was presided over by Dr. Zakir Hussain who was assisted by Khwaja G. Sayyadain. The scheme was tried with success in Jamia Millia of Delhi, a Muslim institution, and other places. The League also took exception to the Congress attempt to win over the Muslim masses, and it was alleged that this was intended to stifle and destroy Muslim culture. The Hindi-Urdu controversy was another item in the list of atrocities.

The Congress made one or two mistakes which were magnified and exploited by the Muslim League. The United Provinces Cabinet issued a circular letter to the District Officers that they should co-operate and act in consultation with District Congress Committees and its office-bearers. This direction was issued on the ground that the Congress Governments were in the position of national Governments; but there can be no doubt that the direction was ill-advised. At about this time the Shia-Sunni trouble at Lucknow began and even this was utilized by the League leaders for their own purposes. It was alleged that the Congress had brought about this trouble by creating a split in the Muslim ranks. Mr. Jinnah remarked, "One cannot help noting in these unfortunate developments at Lucknow that those who are responsible for leading, rather misleading, sections of both Shias and Sunnis in the fratricidal struggle are prominent Muslim Congressites." The Hindu agitation in Hyderabad was ascribed to Congress instigation.

In April 1938 the Muslim League appointed a Committee to enquire into the Congress oppression of Muslims and the report of this Committee, which came to be known as the Pirpur Report, was submitted on November 15, 1938. In the meantime, Pandit Nehru had been in correspondence with Mr. Jinnah and had tried to evolve a formula on the basis of which the Congress and the Muslim League could work together. Mr. Jinnah, however, was extremely evasive. He had now appointed himself as the sole defender of Muslim rights in India and he set about achieving his ends by developing an ever-increasing proficiency in the art of saying "no".

The fact of the matter is that the League, at this time, was desperate. It had been knocking against a brick wall. Its allegations of ill-treatment against the Congress Ministries could

not be substantiated. The Pirpur Report contained, at best, a few minor incidents which could easily be matched by happenings of a much more serious nature in the provinces of the Punjab and Bengal where Muslim Ministries were in power. No one but the League members could be convinced of the truth of the allegations made against the Congress Ministries. The European Governors of the provinces where the Congress was in power declared in unequivocal terms that the administration of the Congress Ministers had been singularly free from communal bias and that they had performed their functions with complete impartiality and justice. Babu Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Congress, offered to have the allegations regarding atrocities enquired into by the Chief Justice of India. Mr. Jinnah, however, declined this offer and said that the matter was now in the hands of the Viceroy. But the League charges were never investigated or adjudicated upon by the Viceroy and the bogey of Hindu oppression was kept alive.

It was at this juncture that the European war came as a godsend to the League. The Viceroy of India immediately announced that India was also at war. This was naturally resented by the Congress as the Viceroy's declaration was made without previous consultation with the Central or Provincial Legislatures or the Congress Ministries representing the vast body of public opinion in the country.

After careful consideration and long deliberation the Congress Working Committee came to the conclusion that the only course open to them, consistent with their honour and dignity, was to call upon all the eight Congress Ministries to resign from office. As soon as this decision was implemented the Provincial Governors suspended the Legislatures and took charge of the administrative machinery under the provisions of section 93 of the Government of India Act of 1935. The Muslim League was jubilant and offered its co-operation in the war effort. It was decided to celebrate the end of the Congress rule by observing a Deliverance Day on December 22, 1939. On that day resolutions were passed at meetings called by the Muslim League in various places. At the same time nationalist Muslims organized counter-demonstrations.

The Congress being now out of power, the League began to strain every nerve to climb into the seat of office. The League leaders realized that the Muslim Ministries in the Punjab and

Bengal had achieved a great deal and if they had failed to achieve more it was because they were not Muslim League Ministries; and the extremist Muslim leaders now began to think of some concrete way of attaining their aims. They began to talk of the partition of the country. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan published a Zonal Scheme.* This was not a part of the official Muslim League programme but, in view of the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact of 1937, it showed the direction in which the League politics were beginning to travel. Up to this moment the League had refused to entertain the idea of partition seriously; but now, partly to mobilize mass emotions and partly to use it as a lever for better bargaining, the Muslim League passed the famous Pakistan Resolution at the Lahore Session of the Muslim League Council on March 26, 1940, the terms of which were:

"1. While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October 1939 and 3rd of February 1940 on the constitutional issue, this Session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the Scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of, this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

"2. It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October 1939 made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in as far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935, is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered *de novo* and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

"3. Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designated on the following basic principle, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India

* The scheme was expounded in the Provincial Assembly on March 11, 1941, but was conceived much earlier.

should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the Constituent Units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

"That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights, and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

"This Session further authorizes the Working Committee to frame a scheme of Constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communication, customs, and such other matters as may be necessary."

The terms of the resolution were vague and amorphous in the extreme. There was no mention of the two-nation theory, though the sole justification for partition rested on Hindus and Muslims being two distinct nations. The word 'Pakistan' was not mentioned and there was a significant reference to territorial adjustments which were left undefined.

The Muslim League's offer of co-operation and Mr. Jinnah's profession of loyalty prompted Lord Linlithgow to make another effort to resolve the political deadlock. Mr. Jinnah immediately made two demands. In the first place, he wanted an assurance that no constitution for the future Government of India would be framed unless the Muslims, who, according to him, meant the Muslim League or himself, agreed. In the second place, he demanded that League representation in the Viceroy's Executive Council should be equal to Congress representation. The Congress could not accept Mr. Jinnah's claim to veto constitutional advance, nor could it agree to Congress-League parity in the Executive Council. The negotiations, therefore, proved fruitless, but Lord Linlithgow on August 8, 1940, made the announcement that His Majesty's Government "could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities to any system of Government whose authority was directly denied by large elements in India's national life" and that they "could not be a party to the coercion of such elements into submission to any such Government." Mr. Jinnah

had thus secured a very important point, in that he acquired the right to place a veto on any political advance to which the rest of the country may be agreeable. This episode prompted Edward Thompson to observe that Mr. Jinnah was being treated as a kind of Moslem Mahatma.

The Congress started individual civil disobedience in October 1940 and within a short time between twenty-five and thirty thousand men and women were either in prison or under detention. In June 1941, Germany attacked Russia and then followed a time of great anxiety for the Allied Nations. In December 1941 Japan entered the war and, in the beginning of 1942, India saw the dangers of war rapidly approaching her boundaries. Penang and Singapore fell within a short time and the Japanese moved through Malaya towards Burma and India. The Civil administrative machinery in Burma broke down completely and a large-scale exodus of Indians, Burmese and Europeans began. The Indian National Army under Subhas Bose presented another problem. The Japanese made one or two air attacks on Calcutta and Britain felt the urgency of doing something in order to mobilize Indian resources. Indian opinion was at the time hostile. The Congress was agitating for independence and a Constituent Assembly. The Muslim League had asked for Pakistan even though the demand did not appear to have been made seriously. The fortunes of the war on the Western front were shaping adversely, and American anxiety was increasing. In these circumstances Sir Stafford Cripps, a Socialist member of the British Coalition Cabinet, was sent out to India. He arrived at the Karachi Airport on March 22, 1942, and the next day gave a Press interview at which he stated that he was a friend and admirer of India, that he had come for a fortnight and could not stay longer and within this short time the leaders must make quick decisions, and that the proposals which he brought with him were the result of the unanimous deliberations of the British War Cabinet. This take-it-or-leave-it attitude was neither conciliatory nor flattering to India's self-esteem. He announced his proposals on the radio on March 30. These proposals, contained in a State Paper, dealt with the question of the immediate transfer of power to Indians and a long-term constitutional plan which would be taken up after the end of the war. Gandhiji described the State Paper as a " post-dated cheque, " drawn, according to a member of the Princely Order, on a " crashing bank." The Congress leaders felt depressed on reading these

proposals as they contained seeds of disintegration. For the first time "the right of any province of British India that was not prepared to accept the new constitution, to retain its present constitutional position" was recognized. The principle of non-accession, in effect, meant conceding the demand for Pakistan. This, however, was not the ground on which the Cripps Mission failed. The Congress were prepared to accept the proposals in so far as they related to the immediate transfer of power and when Sir Stafford glibly talked of a "Cabinet" consisting of Indians and a "Constitutional Viceroy," the Congress opened negotiations in a trustful and constructive mood. There was difference of opinion about the functions of the Defence Minister, but, when these differences showed signs of resolving, Cripps suddenly made a *volte face* and began to talk of the interests of the minorities. At no time during the discussions had the minority or communal questions been mentioned, and the Congress President was naturally surprised when, in his last letter, Cripps referred to the dangers of having a "permanent and autocratic majority in the Cabinet." Mr. Nehru, who took a prominent part in these negotiations, refers to this sudden change in these terms:

"And, then just when I was most hopeful, all manner of odd things began to happen. Lord Halifax, speaking somewhere in the U.S.A., made a violent attack on the National Congress. Why he should do so just then in far America was not obvious, but he could hardly speak in that manner, when negotiations were actually going on with the Congress, unless he represented the views and policy of the British Government. In Delhi it was well known that the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, and the high officials of the Civil Service were strongly opposed to a settlement and to a lessening of their powers. Much happened, which was only vaguely known." *

The fact of the matter was that there was no intention ever to transfer real power to India and Cripps had been sent to India at the urgent request of Mr. Roosevelt who understood the implications of Indian unrest and sympathised with our aspirations. Mr. Churchill was opposed to this move from the beginning and was able to defeat the project with the help of a reactionary Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief. Sir Stafford Cripps went back to England and misrepresented the whole episode by making incorrect statements about what had happened.

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* Jawaharlal Nehru, "The Discovery of India."

The feeling of frustration in the country was intensified as the conviction was borne in upon all right-thinking men that the salvation of India could not be attained as long as the heel of British imperialism continued to crush free thought and enterprise. The Congress felt desperate and, as the monster of war approached the doors of India, the temper of the people rose. There were some who even welcomed the Japanese advance with a hope born of spite and hatred of the British rule. In this mood of the people, the All-India Congress Committee met at Bombay on August 7 and 8, 1942, and after careful deliberation passed the "Quit India" resolution which was nothing more than a "reasoned argument for the immediate recognition of Indian freedom and the ending of the British rule in India."* Early on the morning of August 9, large numbers of Congress leaders were arrested all over the country.

Months of bitter struggle followed. Thousands of men and women were sent to prison or kept in detention. The Government at first took no action against the Muslims but the news of these happenings agitated the Khudai Khidmatgars in the North-West Frontier Province where they held demonstrations against the Government. They were beaten, fired at, arrested and imprisoned by the thousand. By March 1943, thirty-five thousand Congressmen were in prison and nearly twelve thousand in detention or preventative custody. Mr. Jinnah disapproved of the Congress resolution and tried to show that the Muslims had kept aloof from these anti-British activities. He accused the Congress of "ignoring the Muslims." †

Mr. Jinnah's one aim now was to strengthen his own position by gathering the maximum amount of Muslim support for his idea of Pakistan. With the Congress leaders behind bars he had undisputed command of the political field. "Social cohesion," says Bertrand Russel, "demands a creed, a code of behaviour or a prevailing sentiment." Mr. Jinnah provided his followers with all three. He gave them the creed of Muslim superiority implicit in the idea of Pakistan, a code of anti-Congress and anti-Hindu behaviour and a prevailing sentiment that Islam stood in danger of perishing under Congress rule. To quote Bertrand Russel again:

"In excited times, a politician needs no power of reasoning, no apprehension of impersonal facts, and no shred of wisdom.

* Jawaharlal Nehru, "The Discovery of India."
† Mr. Jinnah's address to the Muslim Federation at Bombay on January 24, 1943.

What he must have is the capacity of persuading the multitude that what they passionately desire is attainable, and that he, through his ruthless determination, is the man to attain it." *

The times, indeed, were excited and unusual. Danger from outside combined with internal conditions of food scarcity helped to spread discontent. The dishonesty and incompetence of officials and the greed of the business community made matters worse. The Bengal Famine took a toll of nearly three million lives.† The activities of the pro-League Muslim officials in the Supply Departments created a class of *nouveaux. riches* Muslims who identified their interests with the fortunes of the Muslim League. The bourgeois elements had always dominated the League counsels and Pakistan contained a fresh appeal. to their self-interest. In Pakistan there would be no risk of competition from the richer and more experienced Hindus. Promotions of Muslim Government servants would be more rapid. All the higher appointments and key posts would be in their hands. Their more efficient Hindu colleagues had always stood in their path and the only way for the Muslims to succeed was to oust the Hindu officers and step into their places. The Muslim industrialists would have the field clear to themselves and there would be no injurious competition by the other communities. The Hindus had captured almost the entire business market and a partition of the country would mean greater facilities to the Muslim industrialists and possibly State subsidies to them. This appeal to the pocket of the bourgeoisie had the desired effect and the League won the support of almost the entire Muslim middle class, more particularly of the men in the services who proved to be the staunchest protagonists of the League. The political leaders would have unchallenged sway in Pakistan and, as for the masses, Pakistan was a glorious dream, the realization of which was a matter of secondary importance. It fired their imagination and they converged all their emotional energies towards it without realizing its consequences. To this was added the prospect of acquiring the wealth of the non-Muslims. The prospect of loot is not an unimportant factor in the success of a leader's appeal. As an instance of the emotional heat generated we may quote the undertaking given by Maulvi Mohammad Bahadur Khan, President of the India States Muslim League, at

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* Bertrand Russel—*Power*.

† The Famine Commission presided over by Sir John Woodhead estimated the number of deaths caused by the famine at between fifteen and twenty lakhs but the general opinion was that nearly thirty lakhs of people died of starvation.

the Muslim League Conference at Karachi in December 1943:

"I solemnly pledge and bear you (Mr. Jinnah) and the audience as my witness, I bear the air, the shining sun, the stars and the moon and above all I bear God as my witness that I will sacrifice my life and everything at your command in the name of God. I assure you that you will never find me lag behind even at the most difficult stage of our struggle. Qaid-i-Azam, that day will be the greatest day of my life when I shall have sacrificed the last penny in my pocket and the last drop of my blood at the altar of God. (Voices from the meeting: 'We are with you.') Today, we do not want those people who want to effloresce into fragrant sweet flowers on the 'Tree of Millat.' We want the people who will spill their own blood and give their life for the life of the nation."

Mr. Jinnah had no desire or intention to come to terms with the Congress. He maintained an arrogant and unbending attitude towards all attempts at settlement. He refused even to formulate concrete demands,* as the giving of a definite shape would have deprived Pakistan of its emotional appeal, for the human emotion is seldom stirred by the contemplation of a material substance or a logical formula. The masterly evasion and intransigence of Mr. Jinnah prevented the Gandhi-Jinnah talks of September 1944 and the Simla Conference convened by Lord Wavell in 1945 from bringing about a satisfactory *rapprochement* between the parties.

The war in the West and in the East ended and Churchill's Government in England was succeeded by a Labour Government, possessing a clear majority in the House of Commons. Indians tried to shed their mistrust of British intentions and once more turned hopeful eyes towards their rulers. Their hopes and expectations were reinforced by the compelling influences of world conditions. America had once tried to intervene on behalf of India during the Cripps' episode,† and was now expected to mould

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* Mr. Jinnah gave an interview to the representative of the *Daily Worker* of London on October 5, 1944. He said, "To understand the Pakistan demand in its full significance it is to be borne in mind that six provinces, namely, the N.W.F.P., Baluchistan, Sind and the Punjab in the North-West and Bengal and Assam in the North-East, of this sub-continent have a population of seventy million Muslims and the total population of Muslims would not be less than 70 per cent." Professor W. C. Smith has pointed out that this statement either "does not mean what it seems to mean or else Mr. Jinnah either was lying or was grossly misinformed," for, according to the census of 1941, the Muslim population of these six provinces is only 55.23 per cent of the total population of these provinces.

† The pressure exercised by Mr. Roosevelt upon the British Government is said to have been responsible to a great extent for Cripps being sent to India. When the negotiations were drawing to a conclusion, Louis Johnson, the Personal Representative of Mr. Roosevelt, tried to intervene but specific instructions received from Mr. Roosevelt arrived too late and Cripps had already departed.

British attitude towards Indian aspirations. The unrest in the country showed signs of spreading and it was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain a firm hold on, what Mr. Churchill called, the most precious jewel in the British Crown. The trial of the Indian National Army officers in the Delhi Fort revealed and gave wide publicity to the story of a Provisional Government of free India, fighting the British imperialist forces under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose and fired the imagination of the masses. Riots to protest against the sentences awarded to these officers broke out in Calcutta in February 1946. A few days later the mutiny of the Naval ratings in Bombay provoked sympathetic riots in the cities of Bombay and Calcutta. The Jubbulpore sepoys went on strike in the end of February, and a week later the Victory Day Celebrations in Delhi on March 7, were accompanied by hostile demonstrations and riots, necessitating firing by the Civil and Military police. The economic position deteriorated every day. A Parliamentary Delegation representing all political parties in Britain came to India and, after an extensive tour of observation and discussion, returned to England. They conveyed their impressions to the British Government. On February 19, the British Prime Minister announced that "three Cabinet Ministers are going to India to discuss with leaders of Indian opinion the framing of an Indian Constitution."

It had been decided to hold fresh elections for the Central and Provincial Legislatures and this provided the Muslim League with an unparalleled opportunity for exacerbating communal feelings. The winter of 1945-46 stands out as an era of hate and bitterness. The election campaign of the Muslim League was one sustained and uncompromising attack on everything and everyone that did not fall in line with the League ideology. It was not a political fight but a fight in which the sole attempt of the Muslim League was to arouse communal passions and work up the religious frenzy of the ignorant and superstitious masses. Sajjada Nashins, Pirs and religious leaders of the fanatical school were impressed into service and sent out to propagate the creed of hate. The voters were warned against the *kafirs* and they were told that voting for a nationalist Muslim was a sin that could not be expiated. Five times a day, after prayers in the mosques, *Fatwas* were read out that Unionists (in the Punjab) and nationalist Muslims were enemies of Islam and working as spies of the Hindu Congress; and, therefore, anyone casting a vote in their favour

would be excommunicated. It was announced that inasmuch as voting for a non-Leaguer was tantamount to *kufr* the voter's marriage would stand automatically dissolved. One or two voters who died during the elections were actually refused burial in the Muslim graveyards. The effect of this propaganda on the illiterate rural masses may well be imagined. District officials, school teachers, postmen, subordinate Revenue staff, all worked day and night to influence the minds of the Muslim voters and work up their emotions by these devices. The Muslim press carried on a ruthless campaign of hate and anti-Hindu propaganda and its vitriolic utterances whipped up mass hysteria among the Muslims.

These threats and intimidations were completely successful. The Muslim League secured all the Muslim seats in the Central Assembly and a vast majority of the seats in the Provincial Assemblies. The analysis of voting, however, shows that nationalist Muslims secured more than one-fourth of the total Muslim votes cast. In Sind, they obtained 32 per cent and in the Punjab 30 per cent of the total Muslim votes.* It is instructive to observe that the Muslim League votes were only 17 per cent of the total votes (all parties) cast. The demand for Pakistan was, therefore, supported by less than one-fifth of those who went to the polls.

The League was, however, exultant and victory celebrations were held throughout India. Mr. Jinnah declared that the League had secured not less than 90 per cent of the Muslim votes. Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan of Madras claimed that 99 per cent Muslims were for Pakistan.† The anti-Hindu campaign increased in intensity and the speeches at the Convention of the Muslim League Legislators held in Delhi in the beginning of April contained wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable attacks on Hindus. The resolution passed at this Convention described the Hindu Caste System as "a direct negation of nationalism, equality, democracy and all the noble ideas that Islam stands for." Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan threatened that the Muslims would take out the sword if Pakistan were not conceded. Hindus were referred to as enemies; reason and moderation were thrown to the winds and abusive epithets pushed to the superlative degree were freely employed.

* The Muslim League polled 45,01,156 votes while the non-League Muslims polled 15,86,392 votes. The total number of votes cast was 2,63,55,853. "Mitra's Annual Register —1946, Vol. I. Jan.-June."

† The Muslim League leaders have never shown any respect for truth. Mr. Jinnah has given the number of Muslims in India as eighty millions, ninety millions and one hundred millions on various occasions as it suited him. See also page 29.

On March 15, 1946, Mr. Attlee, in amplification of his announcement of February 19, stated that the Cabinet Delegation was ready to leave for India. He declared that it was the intention of His Majesty's Government to help India "to attain her freedom as speedily and as fully as possible." He added that while "mindful of the rights of minorities" who should be "able to live free from fear," the British people "cannot allow a minority to place a veto on the advance of the majority." This statement indicated a new orientation in British policy and when the Cabinet Delegation arrived at Karachi on March 23, 1946, expectation ran high. After prolonged discussions with the leaders of various parties it was found that no agreement was possible, and on May 16, 1946, the Delegation, with the approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, published a Statement by way of an award. This Statement gave reasons for not acceding to the demand for the partition of India and contained a short-term and a long-term Plan. The short-term Plan provided for the formation of an Interim Government consisting of Indians. This meant immediate transfer of power to Indian hands. The long-term Plan provided for the framing of a constitution on certain lines. The provinces of India were divided into three groups. Group A consisted of the Hindu majority provinces of Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Orissa; Group B consisted of the three Muslim majority provinces in the North-West, namely, the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Sind; while Group C comprised the provinces of Bengal and Assam. The provinces were given the right to opt out of their particular Group in accordance with the provisions contained in the Statement. The Groups would have complete autonomy in dealing with all subjects save three, viz., Defence, Communications and Foreign Affairs which would be administered by the Centre. This scheme preserved the unity of India and at the same time presented Mr. Jinnah with a modified Pakistan. The scheme was considered by the Working Committees of the Congress and the Muslim League. The Congress Working Committee, by a resolution passed on May 24, 1946, asked for some further clarification of the scheme envisaged by the Statement. The Working Committee of the Muslim League decided to accept the entire Statement on June 5, and Mr. Jinnah communicated this decision to the Viceroy. The Congress was willing to accept the portion of the Statement relating to the long-term Plan if the question of

opting out was clarified but was doubtful about the wisdom of joining the Interim Government on the proposed terms. On June 16, 1946, the Viceroy and the Cabinet Delegation issued another Statement announcing that the Viceroy intended to issue invitations to a number of persons asking them to serve as Members of the Interim Government. Clause 8 of this Statement which became a matter of contention was as follows:

" In the event of two major parties or either of them proving unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the above lines, it is the intention of the Viceroy to proceed with the formation of the Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the Statement of May 16."

Mr. Jinnah had already communicated to the Viceroy his acceptance of the May 16 Statement. The Muslim League was, therefore eligible to serve on the Interim Government. The Congress was hesitating and Mr. Jinnah hoped that they would refuse. Lord Wavell's original plan was to have an Interim Government of twelve members, five drawn from the Muslim League, five from the Congress, one from the Sikh community and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian. If the Congress decided to join the Interim Government Mr. Jinnah had an even chance of securing a majority and having the decisive voice in everything. He had several times courted the favour of the Christians and the Anglo-Indians and had been holding extensive *pourparlers* with the Sikh leaders. If, on the other hand, the Congress refused, Mr. Jinnah hoped, under the terms of clause 8 quoted above, to be in sole charge of the Interim Government.

Lord Wavell revised his original scheme of twelve members of the Interim Government by adding a thirteenth to be drawn from the Scheduled Castes. The Statement of June 16 envisaged an Executive Council of fourteen members. Mr. Jinnah took strong exception to these changes as they decreased his chances of outvoting the Congress members. His hope of Congress refusal, however, sustained him. On June 25, 1946, the Congress Working Committee came to a final decision and this decision was conveyed to the Viceroy the same day. The Congress had accepted the long-term Plan, placing their own interpretation on the clause relating to opting out, but expressed their inability to " accept the proposals for the formation of an Interim Government as contained in the Statement of June 16." Lord Wavell called Mr. Jinnah and apprised him of the exact situation. Mr. Jinnah

was told that the formation of the Interim Government would be postponed for the present but that the Government when formed would be a Coalition Government in which the Congress would have a share. Mr. Jinnah's annoyance knew no bounds. He had thought that his adroit moves had brought him to a position from which he could hope to have a decisive say in all matters concerning the Government of India. He argued that because the Congress had not accepted the Statement of May 26, in its entirety, it had disqualified itself from participating in the short-term Plan. The Viceroy should not therefore postpone the formation of the Interim Government but should, according to the provisions of clause 8 of the Statement of June 16, proceed immediately to appoint the personnel of his Executive Council from the Muslim League Party. The Viceroy, however, was not willing to form a Government from which the majority party representing more than 75 per cent of the people of India was excluded. Mr. Jinnah accused the Viceroy of breach of faith, reminded him that "statesmen should not eat their words" and told him that in the altered circumstances, the Muslim League could not offer its co-operation.

* * * *

Reference has been made to the provision regarding the question of opting out by the provinces from the various Groups. At this stage this matter may be examined briefly as it formed the subject-matter of controversy between the Congress and the British Government on the one hand and the Congress and the Muslim League on the other. Clause 15(5) of the Statement of May 16 provided that "Provinces should be free to form Groups with Executive and Legislatures and each Group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common." The procedure for opting out was laid down in clause 19 (v) and (viii):—

"(v) These sections shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces included in each section, and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and, if so, with what provincial subjects the Group should deal. Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the Groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below:

"(viii) As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any Province to elect to

come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new Legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new Constitution."

The question at once arose whether a province like the North-West Frontier Province, placed in Section B, or Assam, which was placed in Section C, would have the right to opt out of the Section assigned to it before the new elections under the new Constitution or after. The Congress Working Committee took the view that under clause 15(5) provinces were free to form Groups and this meant that a province could choose the Group which it wanted to join before the new elections. It was also claimed that the Constituent Assembly would be a sovereign body and would be at liberty to alter any rule of procedure laid down by the Cabinet Mission Plan. The Congress President wrote to Lord Pethick Lawrence on May 20, 1946, drawing attention to these two points. He said, "The Assembly itself, when formed, will in my Committee's opinion be a sovereign body for the purpose of drafting the Constitution unhindered by any external authority.... Further, that it will be open to the Assembly to vary in any way it likes the recommendations and the procedure suggested by the Cabinet Delegation." With regard to the question of opting, he said:

"In your recommendations for the basic form of the Constitution you state that provinces should be free to form Groups with executive and legislatures.... Later on in the Statement, however, on page 5 you state that the provincial representatives to the Constituent Assembly will divide up into three Sections and these Sections shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the provinces in each Section and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for these provinces. There appears to us to be a marked discrepancy in these two separate provisions. The basic provision gives full autonomy to a province to do what it likes and subsequently there appears to be a certain compulsion in the matter which clearly infringes that autonomy."

The attitude of the Congress was based on democratic principles and was prompted, to a large extent, by fears regarding the fate of the North-West Frontier Province and of Assam where the Congress Ministries were in power. Section B had a total strength of 35 members in the Constituent Assembly. Of these only three represented the North-West Frontier Province and it

was clear that if the North-West Frontier Province were compelled to go into Section B, before the framing of the Constitution, the voice of the province would carry no weight whatsoever. The Constitution of Section B might, therefore, be framed in such a way that it would become impossible for the North-West Frontier Province to opt out and join Group A. This could be done by changing the nature of the electorate or by imposing disabilities upon candidates for the Assembly. Similarly, in Section C there were 70 members of the Constituent Assembly and of these only 10 were assigned to Assam and they would be outvoted by the Bengal members.

The Congress and the Muslim League saw the mischief pregnant in the procedure laid down for opting out and, while the Congress took exception to it, the Muslim League was gratified. Mr. Jinnah saw that the scheme would certainly enable him to get the Provinces of North-West Frontier and Assam in the two Sections which would virtually comprise Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah's attitude in this matter was on a par with his demand that in order to determine whether a certain province wanted to join Pakistan or not a plebiscite of the Muslim voters alone should be held rather than a referendum in which voters of all communities were free to express their wishes. It was for this reason that the Congress Working Committee insisted on the contradiction involved in the basic provisions of the long-term Plan contained in the Statement of May 16 and sub-clause (viii). When the matter was debated in the House of Commons on July 18, Sir Stafford Cripps maintained that " it was an essential feature of the scheme that the provinces should go into the Sections." In September, Assam decided not to enter Section C, and it appeared that there was no way of resolving the deadlock before December 9, on which date the Constituent Assembly was due to meet. Towards the end of November Indian leaders were invited to London to discuss the matter with His Majesty's Government. The discussion, however, failed to bring about a settlement and the British Government declared that the interpretation accepted by the League was the correct one. The Congress offer of referring the matter to the Federal Court of India was rejected, and it was not till Lord Mountbatten drew up his Plan of June 3, 1947, that the matter was finally disposed of. This episode shows clearly that while the Congress took its stand on democratic principles and insisted that a province should have the right to choose its

destiny, the Muslim League and the British Government introduced an element of compulsion to ensure that the North-West Frontier Province and Assam should join Sections B and C respectively.

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The Cabinet Delegation left India on June 29. It was announced that they would report to the British Parliament on July 18. Mr. Jinnah now began to search for a weapon with which he could adequately take his revenge and assert his individuality and power. He had declared in March that there was a change of outlook in the Muslim League and that Muslims no longer talked of a mere constitutional fight. The Pakistan demand had been reiterated at the Muslim League Legislators' Convention in the beginning of April, and, as we have seen, the speakers had poured out their anti-Hindu venom in the most violent terms. There had been talk of direct action as early as 1943. In the course of the debate in Parliament on July 18, the Secretary of State for India, in the House of Lords, and Sir Stafford Cripps, in the House of Commons, attributed the failure of negotiations to the intransigence of Mr. Jinnah. This only helped to add fuel to the already raging fire. Mr. Jinnah had called a meeting of the Muslim League Council at Bombay on July 29, 1946, and this Council passed two resolutions, one withdrawing the acceptance of the Cabinet proposals and the other sanctioning direct action. According to the first resolution, "the participation of the Muslims in the proposed constitution-making machinery is fraught with danger and the Council, therefore, hereby withdraws its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals." The text of the second resolution on Direct Action was as follows:

"Whereas the All-India Muslim League has today resolved to reject the proposals embodied in the Statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy dated May 16, 1946, due to the intransigence of the Congress on the one hand and the breach of faith with the Muslims by the British Government on the other;

"And Whereas Muslim India has exhausted without success all efforts to find a peaceful solution of the Indian problem by compromise and constitutional means; And Whereas the Congress is bent upon setting up a Caste Hindu Raj in India with the connivance of the British; And Whereas recent events have shown that power politics and not justice and fair play are deciding factors in Indian affairs;

"And Whereas it has become abundantly clear that the Muslims of India would not rest content with anything less than the immediate establishment of an independent and full sovereign State of Pakistan and would resist any attempt to impose any constitution, long-term or short-term, or setting up of any Interim Government at the Centre without the approval and consent of the Muslim League, the Council of the All-India Muslim League is convinced that now the time has come for the Muslim nation to resort to Direct Action to achieve Pakistan and to get rid of the present slavery under the British and contemplated future Caste Hindu domination.

"This Council calls upon the Muslim nation to stand to a man behind their sole representative organisation,—the All-India Muslim League and be ready for every sacrifice.

"This Council directs the Working Committee to prepare forthwith a programme of direct action to carry out the policy initiated above and to organize the Muslims for the coming struggle to be launched as and when necessary.

"As a protest against and in token of their deep resentment of the attitude of the British, this Council calls upon the Mussalmans to renounce forthwith the titles conferred upon them by the Alien Government."

In an enthusiastic public meeting with whose purpose one is in sympathy, there is a sense of exaltation, combined with warmth and safety: the emotion which is shared grows more and more intense until it crowds out all other feelings except an exultant sense of power produced by the multiplication of the ego. Collective excitement is a delicious intoxication, in which sanity, humanity, and even self-preservation are easily forgotten, and in which atrocious massacres and heroic martyrdom are equally possible.

BERTRAND RUSSELL—*Power*

Now let it work; mischief, thou art afoot,
Take thou what course thou wilt!

SHAKESPEARE—*Julius Cæsar*

CHAPTER TWO

DIRECT ACTION DAY AND AFTER

(i)

THE decision was made and the die was cast. The League leaders announced in no uncertain terms that the two resolutions passed at the Bombay Session of the Council on the July 29, 1946, were intended to be a clarion-call to their followers and a challenge to their enemies. There were "scenes of unparalleled enthusiasm"* inside the Kaisar Bagh where this "most historic act" was performed. Outside, on the road, a small crowd of enthusiastic Muslims waited expectantly, huddled together beneath a canopy of umbrellas, while the rain poured down in a steady fine drizzle, mirroring their mud bespattered shoes in the macadamized surface of the road. The meaning and purport of "Direct Action" were not left in doubt. It meant "good-bye to constitutional methods," the "forging of a pistol" and using it. Mr. Jinnah declared: "What we have done today is the most historic act in our history. Never have we in the whole history of the League done anything except by constitutional methods and by constitutionalism. But now we are obliged and forced into this position. This day we bid good-bye to constitutional methods." The applause which accompanied this declaration encouraged Mr. Jinnah to add that he did not believe in equivocation and meant every word of what he said. He concluded his speech by quoting a couplet of the Persian poet Firdausi in a loud voice resonant with passion:

"*If you seek peace we do not want war*
But if you want war we will accept it unhesitatingly."

"The quotation was drowned in vociferous shouting of League slogans and cheers." †

The Congress might be content to bask in the halo of a self-denying ordinance or struggle on as best it could through the quagmire of constitutionalism and nationalism, the League had chosen to forge ahead with rapid strides towards the seat of power and glory. The means adopted or the cost incurred were matters

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* The *Dawn*, August 30, 1946.
† *Ibid*

of secondary consideration. Not for Mr. Jinnah or his acolytes the way of peace or true democracy. They had openly abjured the democratic ideal as a phantom wholly unsuited to Indian conditions.* What they really meant was that they could not rely on a democratic vote to give them absolute power and position. The petulant impatience of Mr. Jinnah could not brook the delays and uncertainties of a lawful path. He had seen fanatical audiences vibrate to the sound of his not unmusical voice. He had silenced refractory criticism with an upraised finger or a stern look. While yet in his teens, he had successfully conducted an election campaign in England on behalf of Dadabhoy Naroji, the Parsi candidate for the British House of Commons. Since his establishment as the head of the All-India Muslim League in 1937, he had, within his narrow sphere, wielded all the powers of a dictator in steadily increasing measure.† With consummate skill he had manœuvred himself into a seemingly unassailable position from which all the power and prestige of the Congress could not dislodge him. In the last chapter we saw how Mr. Jinnah demanded his right to form an Interim Government without the Congress, and how this demand was rejected by the Viceroy. To be thus frustrated when the fruit of his toils was almost within his grasp was a distressing mortification. His disappointment and chagrin on this occasion were deeper and more galling than in 1937 when the powers exercised by the Congress Ministries under the Government of India Act of 1935 were neither so extensive nor so full-blooded as the declaration of the Cabinet Mission in 1946 seemed to adumbrate. Methods of peaceful negotiations had failed to bring Mr. Jinnah to the pinnacle of his ambition, so now he unhesitatingly turned to fanatical violence and decided to launch a crusade against the so-called oppression of the Bania-British alliance. He made a call for Direct Action. It was the commencement of Operation Pakistan in dead earnest.

After the emotional outbursts in Kaisar Bagh, Mr. Jinnah was asked by a press representative if the resolutions passed by the League Council ruled out the scope of negotiations. He retorted: "What are the other nations doing? Armed to the

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* Mr. Jinnah discussed this thesis in an article written for "Time and Tide" issued from New Delhi on February 13, 1940. He expressed the opinion that Western Democracy was totally unsuited to India, and that its imposition on India was a disease in the body politic.

† At the open session of the All-India Muslim League held in Delhi, in April, 1943, Mr. Jinnah was authorized to "take every step or action as he may consider necessary in furtherance of and relating to the objects of the Muslim League as he deems proper."
See also Note (i) to Chapter II in Appendix I.

teeth with atom bombs, are they not going on talking and discussing? Are they not at the same time going on with preparations to put down any party they like? Why do you want me (the League) alone to sit with folded hands. I am also going to make preparations to meet the situation as and when it arises." Asked if the proposed Direct Action would be violent or non-violent, Mr. Jinnah said, "I am not going to discuss ethics."*

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan told the Associated Press of America that Direct Action meant "resorting to non-constitutional methods, and that can take any form and whatever form may suit the conditions under which we live." He added, "We cannot eliminate any method. Direct Action means any action against the law." Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar was reported to have said that Pakistan could only be achieved by shedding blood and, if opportunity arose, the blood of non-Muslims must be shed, for "Muslims are no believers in *ahimsa.*" Khwaja Nazimuddin declared that Leaguers were not pledged to non-violence.

This was the interpretation of "Direct Action" given by the leaders themselves. The lower orders of the League hierarchy and the rank and file of Muslim masses heard what their leaders said and knew what was expected of them. Months of insidious propaganda and the emotional excitement of religious fanaticism had filled their minds with jealousy and hatred. The two-nation theory had been dinned into their ears till they came to believe that Congress rule meant Hindu tyranny and the total annihilation of Muslim culture. It was felt that Islam itself was in immediate danger of perishing. The unruly elements who flourish on the fears of the timid during times of lawlessness, and hope to reap a harvest of loot and plunder, were straining at the leash, and the decision of July 29 was the first definite signal for action and a pointer in the direction towards which they had to proceed.

The world at large heard these utterances and felt dismayed. The Western nations had just emerged from the throes of the most murderous war that history has ever known, and still lay panting and exhausted. China was engaged in a fratricidal combat which seemed interminable. Palestine was developing into an incurable cancer. The United Nations had failed to solve satisfactorily a single problem—economic, social or political—arising out of the

* *Statesman*, August 1, 1946.

Second World War; and the killing was yet going on on the continent of Asia. And now the Muslim League had openly and deliberately spurned the way of peaceful negotiation, and decided to have recourse to violent and unlawful means. The decision could not fail to evoke resentment and dismay. The non-Muslims in India were appalled at this scarcely veiled threat; the British press was all but unanimous in condemning the step taken by Mr. Jinnah. The *Manchester Guardian* ascribed the event to Mr. Jinnah's anger and disappointment because the Viceroy would not let him form the Interim Government without the Congress. According to the *News Chronicle*, "there could be no excuse for the wild language and the abandonment of negotiations which marked" the meeting of the League Council. It asked, "What precisely does Mr. Jinnah think he will achieve by embracing violence and at a moment when so substantial a part of his claim has been conceded? Does he think that communal strife will benefit India or even the Muslim part of India? He has only to look at other parts of Asia to see what lies at the end of that journey." The *News Chronicle* concluded on a note of despair, "it is hopeless, of course, if Mr. Jinnah is wedded to complete intransigence, if, as now seems the case, he is really thirsting for a holy war." Other papers expressed similar views.

We have drawn attention to the comments of the British Press in order to show that those who read the terms of the Bombay resolutions and the speeches delivered in their support were under no misconception regarding the aims and intentions of the League. They believed, and rightly so, that Mr. Jinnah was virtually declaring a civil war in India.*

The details of how the Day of Direct Action was to be observed had now to be worked out. Mr. Jinnah and Khwaja Nazimuddin, when questioned on this point immediately after the Bombay session, said that they were not prepared to say anything about the matter. Within a few days, however, Khwaja Nazimuddin was able to say that the Muslim population of Bengal knew very well what "Direct Action" would mean.†

Immediate steps were taken to implement the momentous decision arrived at. A Council of Action was appointed to draw up a programme of Direct Action and devise ways and means of

* Mr. Suhrawardy at the Convention of the Muslim League Legislators had said: "We stand for one leader, one voice, one aim. Is Pakistan our last demand? I will not attempt to give an answer but that is our latest demand. .... If you wage war against us I am not prepared to forecast the future."

† *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, August 13, 1946.

carrying it through. The meetings of this Council of Action were naturally secret but the results of deliberations conducted behind closed doors, were made manifest a few days later by the events which provided the overture to a long and horrible drama. To these secret conclaves came Khān Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Muslim League and later the Premier of the West Punjab, and Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, the impulsive but ambitious son of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan. He had been found guilty of corrupt practices and dimissed from the post of a Minister by Sir Khizar Hayat Khan and was anxious to resuscitate his lost reputation. Subsequent events showed that he had not succeeded in curbing his wayward tendencies and there is at present* a proposal to prosecute him for offences committed when he again became a Minister in West Punjab. Begum Shah Nawaz, the daughter of Sir Mohammad Shafi who had broken away from Mr. Jinnah and chosen to co-operate with the British Government at the Round Table Conference, was another Punjabi who attended these meetings. Mr. I. I. Chundrigar President of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League and now a Minister of the Pakistan Government, represented Bombay, while Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, the Chief Minister of Bengal, spoke on behalf of the more important of the two League Ministries in India at the time.

A great deal of thought and argument went to shape the decision of the League leaders. It was finally decided that Calcutta should be the venue of the opening scene of the dark drama which the whole of India was to witness during the course of the next sixteen months and for this decision there were very good reasons.

There were, at this time, only two League Ministries in India, namely, Bengal and Sind. The position in Sind was not at all satisfactory from the League point of view. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah felt extremely insecure in his position as Provincial Premier. He had successfully evaded a censure motion but another had been tabled and it was feared that the opposition might carry it through.† Moreover, the Sind Governor had been interfering in the day-to-day administration of the province; and the Ministry, therefore, did not feel that they could undertake to carry out a programme of Direct Action successfully. Bengal, on the other hand, had a powerful League Ministry with

* 1949.

† See page 241 in Chapter V.

Mr. Suhrawardy at its head, and in him the Qaid-i-Azam saw a most efficient instrument for executing his design. Suave of appearance and urbane in his manners, he was a clever politician. He accepted Mr. Jinnah as his leader because, in this course, he saw a splendid opportunity for furthering his own interests. He possessed the necessary skill for provoking a controversy and then turning the situation to his own advantage. He was capable of starting a large-scale and gruesome massacre in Calcutta and then afterwards associating himself with Mahatma Gandhi's peace mission. He was seen to interfere in the working of the police in the Control Room but, when charged with procrastination and criminal neglect, he pleaded that the Commissioner of Police had declined to carry out his orders for restoring peace, and sought shelter behind the wording of section 9 of the Police Act which entrusted "the exclusive direction and control" of the Police Force to the Commissioner of Police. As head of the Government in Bengal he refused to issue petrol coupons to the Muslim League lorries but as a Muslim Leaguer he issued supplementary petrol coupons for hundreds of gallons to the Ministers individually and to himself. This petrol was later used to transport Muslim rioters on Direct Action Day.* He was capable of issuing a statement to the Associated Press of India on the evening of August 16 that conditions were improving when things had been going from bad to worse throughout the city. When questioned on this point later he denied that he had issued such a statement. On August 23, speaking on the radio, he urged the people of Bengal to live in peace and brotherly affection, and within half an hour sent out a special message to the correspondents of the foreign Press which wholly contradicted his radio broadcast. It was probably on his advice that Calcutta was selected for starting a large-scale assault upon the non-Muslims. Khwaja Nazimuddin was an even more conscientious Muslim Leaguer. He was more forthright than Mr. Suhrawardy and was far more hostile to the Hindus. He had more experience of administrative matters and his advice and assistance were of inestimable value in drawing up the programme for the Direct Action Day and in implementing it. He reaped his reward later by succeeding Mr. Jinnah as the Governor-General of Pakistan.

The position of Bengal and, more particularly, of Calcutta was extremely important from the League point of view. Bengal

* Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukerjee, speaking in support of a no-confidence motion in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on September 20, 1946, said, "Evidence is available that these coupons were used by lorries moving in Calcutta on those fateful days."

was a Muslim majority province with a Muslim population of 54.3 per cent (1941). The eastern districts had a preponderance of Muslim population while, in the western districts, the Hindus were in a majority. This circumstance had persuaded Lord Curzon to effect a partition of the province in 1905. There was considerable Hindu agitation against this measure, and when, in 1911, the partition was annulled, the Muslims looked upon the decision of the British Government as a wholly unjustifiable surrender to the Hindu desire for domination and a betrayal of the pledges given to the Muslims. The large Muslim majority area of East Bengal-*cum*-Assam where the Muslims might have attained economic domination was broken up and the Muslims of East Bengal were relegated to a subordinate position. They had to contend with the greater ability and experience of the Hindu business men and the better educational qualifications of the Hindu candidates for Government posts. Economic interests were identified with religious persuasion and the Muslims felt that in the re-united Bengal they could not win the prize of power and money with their only slightly superior numerical strength. The solution which presented itself was some form of political readjustment which would reflect correctly the census figures. The Government of India Act of 1935 was scarcely a sovereign remedy, for according to its provisions the Muslims obtained only 117 seats in a Legislature of 250. To give effective protection to British business interests the Europeans and the Anglo-Indians were given a much larger representation than their numbers warranted. In 1946 they had as many as 29 seats in the Assembly whereas they comprised scarcely one per cent of the total population. The Muslims had been allotted only 119 seats. The Muslims could no doubt depend on European and Ango-Indian votes but their uncertain support could not be accepted as a complete panacea for all time and for all the ills with which the Muslims imagined themselves to be afflicted. In this set-up of things Calcutta occupied a position of special importance. It stood on the common line which divided the Muslim and Hindu majority areas and, when the partition of Bengal was being effected for the second time in 1947, the contending parties fought for the prize of this rich city with all the vigour at their command. "In Calcutta Hindus predominate in numbers, commercial and professional wealth and experience, and resources and organization; but the course of events since the re-union of

Bengal has made Calcutta the richest prize in what is now a Muslim majority province.*

Another reason why the choice fell upon Calcutta was that there had been a most unfortunate weakening of the authority responsible for maintaining law and order. Calcutta had in recent years witnessed large-scale breaches of the peace and these, together with the political change in the administrative machinery, had undermined the prestige and power of the authorities. In November 1945 the agitation against the trial, by Court-Martial in Delhi, of certain members of Subhas Bose's Indian National Army had resulted in a clash with the police. The demonstrators were refused permission to lead a procession into the area of Dalhousie Square, and, when they insisted, the police opened fire on them. But they succeeded in breaking through the police cordon and marched in triumph through the prohibited area. This was followed by another demonstration in February 1946, when Abdul Rashid of the Indian National Army was sentenced to a term of imprisonment. On this occasion the military had to be called in to assist the police when the mob became unruly. In July 1946, a large and threatening mob collected in front of the Legislative Assembly and demanded the release of certain political prisoners. Some of the agitators pushed past the policemen on duty and invaded the Assembly building. They were persuaded to leave only when the Chief Minister assured them that he would examine the case of each prisoner and announce his decision within a short time. In the same month (July 1946) the Posts and Telegraph employees went on strike for several weeks and, on Monday, July 29, workers of all types observed a general strike in sympathy with the strikers. "In Calcutta on that day there were no trams, no buses, no taxis, not even rickshaws. Shops were closed and offices, Government and commercial, were heavily picketed. Picketers . . . . turned away a number of Secretaries and at least one Minister, while the police, under orders not to precipitate a clash which would undoubtedly have involved a general conflagration, looked on. The life of the city was brought to a standstill and thousands of strikers took charge of the city and went where they pleased." †

* Note on the Causes of the Calcutta Disturbances, August 1946, published by the Government of Bengal, Home Department, in 1946.

† *Ibid.*

Mr. Suhrawardy was the Minister in charge of the portfolio of Law and Order and this state of affairs was known to him. He expatiated on this theme at considerable length when defending himself in the Bengal Legislative Assembly in the course of a debate on a no-confidence motion. In planning the programme of Direct Action Day he decided to make use of it in shaping the course of events. The fact that in Calcutta the Hindus were in the majority did not deter Mr. Suhrawardy from accepting the responsibility of making a success of the Direct Action Day. Indeed this was an incentive and put him on his mettle. He decided to show to the world what a Muslim minority could do when they were determined to use violence and gangster methods, and the *Dawn* drew the attention of its readers to this circumstance after the events in Calcutta had taken place.* Thus the position of the League Ministry in Bengal, the importance of Calcutta and the weakness of the Administrative Authority made Calcutta eminently suitable for a demonstration of violence on Direct Action Day. Mr. Suhrawardy was just the man for this purpose and he undertook to implement the decision of the League in a befitting manner. It was, therefore, in Calcutta, and Calcutta alone, that so much violence and hooliganism were displayed on Direct Action Day.

Mr. Suhrawardy undertook to shape the course of events in Calcutta in a manner calculated to inspire awe in the minds of the non-Muslims and to demonstrate to the world at large the strength and solidarity of the protagonists of Pakistan. As Minister in charge of the portfolio of Law and Order, he made arrangements for the transfer of Hindu police officers from all key posts. On August 16, twenty-two police stations out of a total of twenty-four were in charge of Muslim officials and the remaining two were controlled by Anglo-Indians. The programme for the fateful day was taken up with feverish activity. On August 4, a conference of the Executive Committees of the Calcutta District and City Muslim Leagues and representatives of Branch Leagues, Mohalla Sardars and labour workers of Calcutta, Howrah, Hoogly, Metiabruz and 24-Parganas was called to consider the matter. A programme was drawn up and this was later elaborated and given the widest publicity in the Muslim Press. Leaflets and pamphlets over the name of Mr. S. M. Usman, Mayor of Calcutta and

* The *Dawn*, August 17, 1946, in its editorial "Even Now."

Secretary of the Calcutta Muslim League, were printed and distributed. It was announced in the Press that these could be obtained free of cost from the Muslim League Office at 8, Zakaria Street, Calcutta.

The published programme called for a total *hartal* and complete cessation of business on August 16. To this end Mr. Suhrawardy's Government declared August 16 a public holiday throughout the province. There was naturally considerable opposition to this proposal and it was said that a public holiday would let loose a considerable number of *goondas* and irresponsible characters. An industrial city like Calcutta has a large population of millhands, dockyard workers, casual labour, mischief-makers and professional agitators whose energies are, on ordinary days, expended in the performance of constructive work. To draw them away from their business, send them into the streets and tell them to agitate was tantamount to unleashing the forces of lawlessness and destruction. When the matter came up for discussion in the Legislative Assembly this fact was pointed out to the Ministry. Mr. Suhrawardy's Government, however, ignored the protests of the opposition and, disregarding wiser counsels, determined to carry on with the prearranged programme. Indeed Mr. Suhrawardy suggested that the step contemplated was in the interests of the people, for they would be available to defend themselves and their families instead of being away from home, and leaving their women and children to the mercy of the rioters.

The *hartal* contemplated was to be complete. It was to take the form of a general strike in all spheres of civic, commercial and industrial life. In the published programme it was said that the essential services of water-works, hospitals, physicians' clinics, maternity centres, light, electricity, gas and postal services would continue to function as usual. This exception was, however, in form only, for when Direct Action began on August 16, the civic life of Calcutta was so completely paralysed that the "essential services" found it impossible to function for several days. Non-Muslims were also exhorted to join the *hartal* and "make common cause with the League in its fight." A mass rally and meeting were to be held at the foot of the Ochterlony Monument from 3 p.m. onwards and Mr. Suhrawardy was to preside over it. The Mayor of Calcutta wanted a million Muslims to congregate in the

maidan and give evidence of their united strength. The programme reminded the Muslims of what stuff they were made:

"Muslims must remember that it was in Ramzan that the Quran was revealed. It was in Ramzan that the permission for Jehad was granted by Allah. It was in Ramzan that the battle of Badr, the first open conflict between Islam and Heathenism was fought and won by 313 Muslims; and again it was in Ramzan that 10,000 under the Holy Prophet conquered Mecca and established the kingdom of Heaven and the commonwealth of Islam in Arabia. The Muslim League is fortunate that it is starting its action in this holy month."

The leaflets issued by Mr. Usman were in the same strain. An Urdu circular bearing the title "Manifesto" contained the following exhortation:—

"Brethren of Islam,

Please explain this circular to the people of your *ilaqa, mohalla,* in mosques, schools, colleges, clubs, tea-stalls and hotels. Ask them to awake, arise and unite under the banner of the Muslim League and make this *hartal* a success. Assemble at the foot of the Ochterlony Monument in processions with the accompaniment of bands at 3 p.m. Lead the procession with such strength and enthusiasm that even the blind, deaf and dumb can appreciate their strength and determination."

Another leaflet containing a special prayer for the crusade is worth quoting in full.

"MUNAJAT FOR THE JEHAD.

(*To be said at every mosque after the Jumma prayer.*)

It was in this month of Ramzan that the Holy Quran was revealed! It was in this month of Ramzan that 313 Muslims were victorious through the grace of God over many *Kafers* in the battle of Badr and the *Jehad* of the Muslims commenced! It was in this month that ten thousand Muslims marched to Mecca and were conquerors and thus there was the establishment of the Kingdom of Islam.

By the grace of God we are ten crores in India but through bad luck we have become slaves of the Hindus and the British. We are starting a *Jehad* in Your Name in this very month of Ramzan. We promise before You that we entirely depend on You. Pray make us strong in body and mind—give Your helping hand in all our actions—make us victorious over the

Kafers—enable us to establish the Kingdom of Islam in India and make proper sacrifices for this *Jehad*—by the grace of God may we build up in India the greatest Islamic kingdom in the world.

The Muslims in China, Manchuria, Mongolia, Malaya, Java and Sumatra are all fighting for their freedom—pray by Your grace they may succeed. May You bring freedom to the Muslims of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Albania, Arabia, Egypt and the Sudan and also to the Muslims of Tunis, Algiers, Morocco, Africa. May God help us so that Muslims of the world may be able to build up a very strong Islamic kingdom in this world.

(Then followed some Arabic quotations from Quran and Hadis.)

Note.—This form of prayer should be kept with care—must not be touched with the foot or dishonoured in any way."

A Bengali pamphlet 'Mugur' (Club) concluded with a passionate appeal:

"The Bombay resolution of the All-India Muslim League has been broadcast. The call to revolt comes to us from the Qaid-e-Azam of the Muslim leaders. Braves, this is what we want. This is the policy for the nation of heroes. For so long we have been acting like beggars. We are glad from the core of our hearts to hear this magnificent news. This is what we have been eagerly waiting for. God has granted to the Muslims in the month of Ramzan what they have been clamouring for. The day for an open fight which is the greatest desire of the Muslim nation has arrived. Come, those who want to rise to heaven. Come those who are simple, wanting in peace of mind and who are in distress. *Those who are thieves, goondas, those without the strength of character and those who do not say their prayers—all come.* (Italics ours.) The shining gates of heaven have been opened for you. Let us enter in thousands. Let us all cry out victory to Pakistan, victoy to the Mulim nation and victory to the army which has declared a *Jehad.*"

A leaflet bearing a picture of Mr. Jinnah with a sword in hand, said:—

"The sword of Islam must be shining on the heavens and will subdue all evil designs. . . . We Muslims have had the Crown and have ruled. Do not lose heart. Be ready and take your swords. Think you, Muslims, why we are under the *kafirs* today. The result of loving the *kafirs* is not good. O *kafir* ! Do not be proud and happy. Your doom is not far and the

general massacre will come. We shall show our glory with swords in hands and will have a special victory."

Another leaflet asked the Muslims to come into the arena with their swords and change their tactics. "We shall then see who will play with us, for rivers of blood will flow. We shall have the swords in our hands and the noise of *takbir*. Tomorrow will be doom's day."

* * * *

As August 16 approached, the tempo and volume of the preparations increased. Ward Committee meetings were held frequently in various Wards of Calcutta. Transport for League volunteers and Muslim hooligans was arranged. Petrol rationing difficulties were overcome by obtaining supplementary coupons issued to the Ministers personally just before Direct Action Day. A large number of regulation lathis and lethal weapons were imported. In the Basti in Mission Row, Hindu and Muslim cobblers had been living in peace and amity. Suddenly on August 10, the Hindus saw that the Muslims were supplied with *lathis*, spears and daggers. This early discovery made them run away and escape to safety. The *goondas* and bad characters were mobilized. Large numbers of them were imported from outside. A few days before the due date Pathans and suspicious characters were seen prowling about the streets of Calcutta. Mr. Kiron Shankar Roy drew the attention of the police to this circumstance and warned them that the presence of these strange men did not augur well for the peace of Calcutta. Hundreds of bad characters who were in detention during the World War had been released by Government and this force with all its destructive power was available to carry out the behests of the League agitators.

The League leaders made arrangements to treat any persons who might be injured in the riots. Mr. Abdul Wahed Choudhuri, described as the D.G.O.C., Pakistan Ambulance Corps, was called upon to mobilize his men. He took steps to open a First Aid Centre at Curzon Park near the maidan where the mass rally was to be held. He further ordered that five First Aid Units must be held in reserve and an ambulance car bearing flags with a red crescent on a white background should circulate through the city on Direct Action Day. It was also arranged that every major procession should have its own First Aid equipment. Two League representatives were posted at each of the Medical College

Hospitals and also at the Campbell Hospital. Representatives were to hold themselves in readiness to go to other hospitals if necessity arose. It was announced that information about the condition of patients could be obtained at the Calcutta office of the Pakistan Ambulance Corps. These extensive arrangements are indicative not merely of a prudent foresight, but are clear proof of the fact that the local League leaders had foreknowledge of what would happen on Direct Action Day, and had taken steps to provide facilities for the treatment of their injured and wounded.

All kinds of weapons were distributed to the agitators, and the Muslim mobs who formed processions early on the morning of August 16 and paraded the streets were seen to be armed not only with *lathis* but with spears, daggers, hatchets and, in some cases, even firearms. The *goondas* of Howrah were given *lathis* and other weapons through Sharif Khan, M.L.A., who was a trusted henchman of Mr. Suhrawardy. Sharif Khan had been previously convicted of homicide but was later elected as a Member of the Legislative Assembly because he controlled the *goondas* of Howrah. Mr. Usman, the Mayor of Calcutta, visited Howrah with Sharif Khan and incited the people to violent action. On Direct Action Day a huge procession of Muslims armed with *lathis,* spears, daggers, etc., left Howrah for Calcutta to attend the meeting at the Ochterlony Monument. The Control Room at Calcutta was not informed of this circumstance. At 4-30 p.m. this crowd was seen returning to Howrah and was stopped by a European Superintendent of Police at the bridge. They were disarmed and *lathis,* spears, daggers, knives, unburnt torches, empty soda water bottles, tins containing kerosene oil, rags soaked in oil, ready for being used in setting fire to houses, were collected. They filled three trucks and were taken to the Golabari Police Station in Howrah. They were later shown to Mr. Justice Spens, President of the Calcutta Disturbances Enquiry Commission. It is impossible to believe that these men had come out armed in this manner on their own initiative and without any specific instructions having been issued to them in this respect.

Events in the political field had in the meantime proceeded according to a prearranged plan. Negotiations between the Viceroy and Mr. Nehru for the formation of an Interim Government had been started. Mr. Jinnah was invited to participate in these talks. The Viceroy's latest formula offered five seats out of fourteen to the Muslim League and six to the Congress. The

remaining three were to be filled up by nomination. Mr. Jinnah had already made up his mind, and spurned this offer of more than 35 per cent League representation in the Central Government. When it was realized, contrary to expectation, that Mr. Jinnah's refusal had failed to bring about the desired deadlock; and the negotiations proceeded in the absence of the Muslim League, the League leaders gave unrestrained expression to their chagrin. Mr. Suhrawardy immediately raised the standard of rebellion and declared that if the Congress were put in power he would set up an independent and parallel Government in Bengal. No part of the provincial revenues would be paid to the Centre and Bengal would become a separate State having no connection with the rest of India. On the same day Mr. Mohammad Usman, the Mayor of Calcutta, told the representative of the Orient Press that Muslims in Bengal were fully prepared.

On August 13 it was announced that the Viceroy had invited Mr. Nehru to form an Interim Government and on the 15th the breakdown of negotiations between Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Nehru was made known to the public. On the morning of the 16th the *Dawn* brought out a four-page supplement telling its readers that the day for Direct Action had arrived and that "might alone could now secure the right" of Muslims.

* * * *

The progress of these events gave rise to grave apprehensions in the minds of the Bengal Hindus. It was feared that the celebrations of Direct Action Day would inevitably result in extensive clashes between the two major communities. The desire of the Muslim League (as indicated in the published programme) that non-Muslims should also join the *hartal* was resented by the other political parties. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee characterized the demonstration as communal and anti-national. They took exception to August 16 being declared a public holiday and called upon the nation to protest against the prostitution of governmental authority in order to secure personal and party aims. Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, issued a statement on August 15 advising the public to remain peaceful and telling those who did not wish to join in the League demonstration to go about their usual business. A leaflet issued by the Hindu Mahasabha was more categorical.

"The Hindus and non-Muslims of Bengal are strongly opposed to the demand for Pakistan. Under the circumstances, to join

or to assist in the *hartal* declared by the Muslim League will amount to supporting the Pakistan demand. The Hindus of Bengal can never act in this way. The League Ministry has had the audacity to declare the day as a public holiday. The object is obvious. By this action they mean to compel the Hindu Government servants to join the *hartal*. The Hindus will have to give a clear answer to this act of effrontery. It is the duty of every Hindu to carry on as usual his normal occupation. The Hindus must make organised efforts to see that no Hindu, non-Muslim or non-League Muslim is forced to join the *hartal*. We, therefore, request the public to continue on that day their normal work. They must not yield to any coercive measures. Remember that to join the *hartal* is to support the demand for Pakistan."

This leaflet marks a certain amount of stiffening in the Hindu attitude towards the League propaganda.

* * * *

The police had received secret information that trouble was afoot. According to the Report of the Commissioner of Police on the Calcutta disturbances, the information received by the Intelligence Department was:

(a) A report that *goonda* elements among the Muslims might create disturbances if non-Muslims did not observe the *hartal*; and

(b) a report that instructions had been issued to several Muslim hostels to make preparations to set fire to tramcars and military lorries on the 16th.*

There can be no doubt that police information extended much further. Even the military were not wholly ignorant of the extent and nature of the League agitation. When giving evidence before the Spens Enquiry Commission, Brigadier Sixsmith, who was then acting as Area Commander, said that on August 10 General Bucher sent for him and warned him of the possibility of trouble on Muslim League Direct Action Day. General Bucher advised Brigadier Sixsmith to make himself thoroughly conversant with arrangements in the area for internal defence and duties in aid of the civil power. Mr. Suhrawardy later denied that any reports of "preparedness on the part of either the Hindus or the Muslims" were available, but it was in view of these warnings and fears that

* Report of the Commissioner of Police on the disturbances and the action taken by the Calcutta Police between the 16th and 20th of August 1946 inclusive, published by the Government of Bengal, Home Department (Political) in 1946.

the Commissioner of Police issued orders to the whole police force on August 15 to "take emergency action." This entailed the establishment of a Control Room at Police Headquarters where information of disturbances from all parts of the city could be received and classified, and correlated mobilization at Headquarters of all Inspectors and Sergeants, of all available constables from the Reserve Force. Further, all Inspectors and Sergeants of Security Control and the Public Vehicles Department, the Traffic Police and all Armed Police, not engaged in essential duties, were to hold themselves in readiness.

* * * *

Such were the hopes and expectations, the fears and forebodings which possessed the citizens of Calcutta when they retired to rest on the evening of August 15. The night brought little rest to many of them and, shortly after dawn, a feverish activity began to spread throughout the vast city. The skies were dark and lowering, but rain held off till the evening, and any slight discouragement that the inclemency of the monsoon weather might have provided was spared the League demonstrators. Unruly crowds, numbering at first not more than fifty or sixty, carrying flags and banners and armed with sticks, daggers, spears and hatchets began roaming about the main streets. They were shouting slogans and inviting their Muslim brethren to join them. As their numbers swelled they became bolder and more provocative. Whenever they saw an open shop they ordered the owner to close it at once. If this peremptory demand was not complied with immediately, the shop-keeper was beaten and his goods were looted or thrown out into the street. The unfortunate victims were almost invariably Hindus for all Muslim shops were observing *hartal*. Anyone seen cycling or motoring was stopped and told to walk. If he showed reluctance or offered resistance he was assaulted and the tyres of his vehicle were deflated. The transport services had suspended business and no trams or buses were running; taxis were off the roads, and apart from a few individuals whose ignorance or hardihood had brought them out, the only vehicles to be seen were Muslim League lorries or jeeps. These, laden with armed hooligans, shouting League slogans, went about the streets freely, encouraging the mobs or issuing directions. The privilege of free movement enjoyed by them indicated a well-laid plan and their numbers evidenced the extent of the League resources.

As early as 6 a.m. reports began to pour into the Police Control Room. The eleven telephones, installed in two separate rooms, rang so frequently and brought forth so many tales of distress, so many calls for help and such a stream of appeals for rescue that it was impossible to keep even a brief record of the countless messages received. The Police Deputy Commissioner, Headquarters, himself received over 1,200 such messages. It was impossible to maintain accurate figures of the crimes committed during the first four days of this bloody fight or to send assistance where it was needed most. The resources of the Calcutta Police were quite unequal to the magnitude of the task involved. The available police force was both insufficient and inadequate to cope with the nature and the extent of the disturbances which held the life of the city in a murderous grip. There can, however, be no doubt that the criminal apathy of the police officials and the failure of those in authority to deploy the available forces to the best advantage were mainly responsible for the holocaust which followed. For two days the police were almost completely inactive or evasive. Appeals for assistance were answered with, "We have no orders." Policemen stood watching the burning and looting of houses with calm indifference. A house opposite a Traffic Outpost where over a hundred police officers were present was completely ransacked. The Mallick Bazaar was looted by a mob of hooligans who ran about displaying their booty with a great show of exultant joy. Police guards joined the looters in this merry-making. Mr. Fazlul Haq, speaking on the no-confidence motion in the Legislative Assembly, complained bitterly of police attitude during the first two days of the riots. He could not get into touch with the police officers or secure their assistance.* There were numerous complaints of deliberate inaction on the part of subordinate police officials of a number of *thanas*. Timely action in disarming the riotous mobs in the morning could perhaps have averted serious trouble, but once the assaults and clashes began, the situation was completely out of hand and only a determined action by a large military force could save the city. Unfortunately, the military was not called until the evening of the 17th, and by that time a great deal of irreparable damage had been done. For a day and a half the

* Mr. Fazlul Haq voted against the no-confidence motion though his speech contained a violent attack on Mr. Suhrawardy's administration. See Note (ii) to Chapter II in Appendix I for extracts from the speeches of Messrs. Fazlul Haq and Dhirendra Narayan Mukherji.

Muslim rioters held their own. The tide of the battle then began to turn and Hindus and Sikhs began to hit back. It was only when this change began to spell disaster for the Muslims, that military assistance was summoned. It was mentioned before the Spens Enquiry Commission that the Civil authorities had been guilty of gross dereliction of duty in failing to call in the military on the afternoon of the 16th when the situation had deteriorated to such an extent that the police were quite unable to deal with it. It was said that, in the February riots of the same year, the military had been called in at once. To add to the embarrassment of the Police Chiefs, Mr. Suhrawardy arrived in the Control Room and established himself there for the space of several hours. He received messages, gave verbal directions, issued written instructions or orders, scribbled on scraps of paper, talked to the Police Heads, overrode the decisions made by them, received visitors, discussed the political events with them and generally interrupted the vital business of those in charge of the Control Room. He ordered that special protection should be given to all mosques and that police pickets should be posted at each one of them; but nothing was to be done to safeguard the inmates, sanctity or property of any Hindu shrine. He assured the Commissioner of Police that the situation would improve after he had addressed the gathering in the maidan. He would tell the Muslims to go home quietly and they would obey him. When his eloquence failed to soothe the frenzied masses and produce the calm he could not have hoped for, he returned to the Control Room and continued his mischievous activities. Towards evening Inspector Wade, on patrol with a lorry detachment, arrested eight Muslims for looting in Mallick Bazaar Market. Some of the looters were wearing Red Cross bands to give them immunity from police action. The arrested persons and a lorry in which the looted goods were being stocked were taken to the Park Street Police Station. Shortly afterwards Mr. Suhrawardy arrived at the police station and ordered the immediate release of the miscreants on his personal responsibility.* The same evening he reported that firearms had been used against Muslim passers-by by Messrs. Lal Chand and Sons, Ammunition Dealers. The Additional Deputy Commissioner, Security Control, at once went to the spot to

* This incident was referred to in the Assembly debate which took place in the month of September. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee accused the Premier of having set at liberty *goondas* who had been caught red-handed, looting property. Mr. Suhrawardy retorted that Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee himself was a *goonda*. He later admitted having ordered the release of these men.

investigate. He found that this complaint was false and, on his return, reported that a Muslim mob had attacked the shop and attempted to set fire to it. Messrs. Lal Chand and Sons complained that they had sent a message to the police station asking for help but their appeal had been disregarded. The Chief Minister's presence and conduct in the Control Room were a serious impediment to the work of the Police and Army chiefs and a complaint to this effect was made to His Excellency the Governor. A desire was expressed that Mr. Suhrawardy should keep away from the Control Room.

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It is impossible to give a complete and accurate picture of the Great Calcutta Killing as it came to be called. The reports received by the police were not always true. The noise of a disturbance in the next street, the shouting of slogans from a passing lorry, or the sight of an approaching mob frequently lent substance to an imaginary fear and spread panic through a whole street; and messages of an actual attack having taken place were sent to the Control Room. On the other hand, hundreds of incidents, some of them the most terrible, went unreported, because the blow fell before anyone could communicate to the authorities or because the injury sustained was past all redress. The local police were in some cases unsympathetic. One police station shut its doors against all appeals for help. When the Commissioner of Police arrived he found the premises closed and the gate barred. Hundreds of messages received could not be recorded and were completely forgotten. Rumours of all kinds, based partly on hearsay but largely on the imagination of the speaker, were accepted as true by a credulous people. Things unprecedented in the whole history of communal warfare were happening all over Calcutta and nothing was beyond belief. The newspaper reporters went round the city under armed protection and tried to give accurate accounts of what they saw, but they could not be everywhere at the same time, and they could not enter the worst affected areas. The Commissioner of Police drew up an official report based on information conveyed to the police and this document is a long and sordid catalogue of crime and human passions at their basest; but it does not pretend to be complete. It reads like the defence plea of a person accused of neglecting his duty. The Spens Enquiry Commission heard a great deal of evidence and brought to light many things, but it

was not allowed to conclude its labours and the hearing was brought to an abrupt end by an order of the League Ministry who expressed the opinion that further progress of the Enquiry was likely to exacerbate communal feelings. Some people held the view that the Enquiry had brought forth a great deal of incriminating matter not very palatable to the Chief Minister and his colleagues.

It is not our business here to give full and complete details of the horrible events transacted in Calcutta during these days. Such an undertaking is neither possible nor within the scope of this book. There is nothing that distinguishes the looting and burning of a shop in one street from the looting and burning of another shop in another street. One case of stabbing is very like another. The frenzied mobs behaved in very much the same way in different parts of Calcutta. For individual details the reader is referred to a study of the Police Commissioner's Report and the proceedings of the Spens Enquiry Commission. It will suffice to give in these pages a general outline of the over-all picture and mention a few of the more important incidents.

Reference has already been made to the forcible closing of Hindu shops as the immediate exciting cause of the disturbances. All over Calcutta Muslim crowds demanded the closure of non-Muslim shops. If the slightest resistance was offered the shop was looted and burnt. Very soon the crowds began to break open closed shops and loot them. It is significant that many Muslim shops had been marked in chalk with "Mussalman shop —Pakistan" to save them from the attentions of the mob and this circumstance was mentioned as proving a previous plan to loot all non-Muslim shops. The Muslim League demonstrators soon came into clash with Hindu crowds, and general rioting of a most fierce type broke out in all parts of Calcutta. The houses of prominent Hindus and Congressmen became a special target of the Muslim fury. The house of Dr. B. C. Roy,* Congress leader, was attacked and set on fire. The son-in-law of Mr. Kiron Shankar Roy, leader of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party, was stabbed. The office of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee was heavily stoned. The offices of the News Editor of *Hindusthan Standard* and the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* were attacked and attempts were made to set fire to the buildings.

* The present Premier of the Province of West Bengal.

Five garages in Mechubazar Street were broken open and set on fire. In the Central Avenue a crowd was observed standing round a number of cars. One of these had already been set on fire when the police arrived. The fires in Amherst Street section were reported to be very severe. In the area of Shampukur Police Station several lorries, full of Muslims and loaded with tins of petrol, were seen moving about. A house in Tara Chand Dutt Street was burnt and it was still on fire on the following day. The Park Street Police saw a large mob of Muslims carrying sticks with kerosene-soaked rags attached to them. From a house in Umadas Lane the police recovered a quantity of kerosene-soaked rags, two bottles of nitric acid and a number of soda water bottles and battle axes. The house belonged to a Muslim and two Muslims were arrested from the premises. The Regent Cinema was set on fire. On August 17, Inspector Kinchin found a crowd of Muslims with blazing torches setting fire to the huts near Manicktola Bridge. The Fire Brigade found it extremely difficult to control these fires because of persistent interference by the Muslim crowds. The fire engines could only go about with armed escorts but even so they could not always perform their task. It was found that several hydrants had been opened by the rioters and the consequent decrease in the water pressure created further difficulties.

The house of Mr. D. L. Dutt, Presidency Magistrate, was attacked. Even Muslims who were known to be supporters of the Congress were not spared. The residence of Syed Nausher Ali, former Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, was attacked by a mob on the afternoon of the 16th. Police help was sent and Syed Nausher Ali informed Inspector Kinchin that he had been flying Congress colours from his house and local Muslims had taken exception to it. They wanted to take down the Congress flag and fly the Muslim League flag in its place. There was frequent interference with police lorries. In at least one instance the police were seen to be taking part in the looting. On receiving a report of looting in Wellesley Street the Deputy Commissioner, Special Branch, went to the spot in a jeep with two orderlies and a Sergeant-Major armed with tommy guns. "Arriving at the shop of Sen Law's on the corner of Royd Street and Wellesley Street, the Deputy Commissioner found it was being looted by a mixed mob of Anglo-Indians and Indians. Outside stood an empty police weapon-carrier and inside, the Deputy Commissioner reports having found three Police Sergeants

passively watching the looters and taking no preventive action.* The crowd was driven away but as soon as the Deputy Commissioner, Special Branch, moved away, the looters again entered the shop.

A number of temples were attacked and burnt down. Among these was the Radhakrishna Temple on Cornwallis Road and the Sitla Temple in College Street. The Science College and the Hindu houses in its neighbourhood were persistently attacked for several hours. A mob of Muslim hooligans entered the Carmichael Medical College and began to threaten patients and nurses. An attack was made on the Medical College Hostel in the jurisdiction of Jorasanko Police Station. A number of cars and lorries, marked with the Red Cross or flying Red Cross flags, were going about killing people and looting shops. The looting and killing went on continuously for forty hours in some localities and this sustained energy of the fanatical mobs was an astonishing feature of the riots. The streets were strewn with dead bodies and the corpses lay thus for several days giving out a foul stench. The task of disposing of the corpses seemed at first impossible because there was no one to carry them away and bury or cremate them. The *domes* who usually perform this work had run away and their *bustees* were found to be deserted. Dozens of dead bodies were pushed down manholes and obstructed the sewage of the city. Dead bodies were seen floating in the river. A number of boats had been burnt and sunk and the boatmen were killed or drowned. Bodies lay in houses where they had been done to death. There were stories of children having been hurled down from the roofs of houses. Young children were reported to have been boiled in oil. Others were burnt alive. Women were raped and mutilated and then murdered. A number of hooligans were seen going about the streets, robbing the pockets of dead men. On the other hand, there were many instances of Muslims giving protection to Hindus and Hindus giving protection to Muslims. At Tiretta Bazar the police found three Hindus in the house of Muslims who had given shelter to them. On the evening of August 18 four Sikhs went to the Police Headquarters and stated that they had hidden a number of threatened Muslims in their house and requested that the Muslims be removed so that the Sikhs might not be victimized. The police took a prison van to the house and evacuated fifteen male Muslims from the Sikhs' quarters.

* Report of the Commissioner of Police.

For four terrible days this massacre and brutality continued unabated. During this time the life of the city was completely paralysed. Hospitals were full of patients and streams of injured men continued to pour in. The Lake Hospital, recently vacated by the United States Army, was taken over and a number of patients were accommodated there. It was, however, impossible to cope with the number of injured persons and the medical arrangements all but broke down. The problem of feeding the patients and thousands of refugees who had crowded in the hospital compounds was a formidable one. Students and doctors living outside the hospitals, in hostels, sought shelter in hospital buildings and they had to be fed. The total admissions, according to the Report of the Surgeon-General, were well over four thousand. Of these some had been brought in dead while others died in hospital.

The rescue of persons in dangerous localities was another serious problem. Once the disturbances began, Muslims living in Hindu majority areas and Hindus living in Muslim majority areas wanted to be evacuated. They did not dare to venture out without proper escort. Rescue Squads were organized but the transport available was quite inadequate to cope with the demand. It is estimated that over thirty thousand people were moved before the end of the fourth day of the riots. Thousands more left the city of their own accord although this was not easy as the train services had been completely disorganized. The newspaper reporters estimated an exodus of a hundred thousand persons from Calcutta.

Food and sanitation arrangements were completely upset. Many grain ration shops were looted and for four days it was almost impossible to maintain supplies in the city. Although there was no interference with the filtered water-supply, the unfiltered water-supply for sanitary fittings was interrupted in certain sections of the city owing to the low water pressure in the mains because the hydrants were left open by the people. Garbage and rubbish went on piling up in the streets as the Corporation Conservancy Staff did not report for duty. Bleaching powder was sprinkled by military lorries on the rubbish heaps and human and animal corpses, but for days the stench of the city was unbearable.

Until August 18 nothing could be done to remove the dead bodies from the streets. The Government then gave consideration to this matter and, with the assistance of the Anjuman Mofidul Islam and the Hindu Satkar Samiti, began to tackle the problem.

It was decided that all bodies dealt by the Government Organization should be buried. A small force of sixteen *domes* was requisitioned and this proceeded to pick up the dead bodies at 9 p.m. on the 18th. The *domes* worked through the night and lorries, loaded with dead bodies, were taken to the Bagmari Cemetery. The approach to the graves was too narrow for the lorries and the dead bodies had to be transferred to hand-carts and wheeled for nearly a quarter of a mile. The *domes* were now tired out and the dead bodies had to be left unburied. The next day the work was resumed and, with the assistance of Mr. Justice Sharpe and Mr. Justice Hindley of the Calcutta High Court, who volunteered for this extremely unpleasant work, a number of bodies were buried. Some Anglo-Indians later came forward to handle the dead bodies on payment. It was learnt that *domes* would be more willing to work when stimulated by a country liquor known as *paglapani*. This was provided and the work of disposing of the dead bodies proceeded. Corpses were recovered from streets, houses, temples, mosques, manholes, the river and the canals and buried in large trenches. The Hindu Satkar Samiti cremated over a thousand bodies. By the 27th almost all the dead bodies had been disposed of. High Government officials including two High Court Judges already named, Mr. Mitra of the Indian Civil Service, Mr. Auden of the Geological Survey, Mr. Hodge of the B.A. Railway, worked for hours at a stretch, in an overpowering stench, to accomplish this task. But for *paglapani* and liberal payment to the *domes*, beer and high wages to the Anglo-Indians who handled the corpses, this work could not have been performed. The following table gives the number of dead bodies collected and disposed of:

By Government Organization	1,182
By Anjuman Mofidul Islam	761
By Hindu Satkar Samiti	1,230
Total ...	3,173

This figure does not represent the total number of deaths caused in the riots. Many dead bodies were burnt in houses, many others floated down the river to the sea. The loss of property by arson and looting was estimated at several crores. Accurate figures are not available but an examination of the individual reports submitted by Fire officers who supervised action

at the various fires shows that the ownership of the various properties which suffered from arson is in the following ratio:

(*a*) Hindu ownership ... ... 65 per cent
(*b*) Muslim ownership ... ... 20 per cent
(*c*) Ownership either joint Hindu/Muslim not known, European or Government. 15 per cent*

Comparative figures of persons wounded or killed in the course of the riots are not available. The report of the Surgeon-General based on the admissions to the various hospitals is to the following effect:

A. *Classified*

	Admissions	*Brought in dead*	*Deaths*
Hindus	2,322	11	151
Muslims	1,832	12	138
Others	222	11	62

B. *Unclassified*

Brought in dead	174
Deaths	11

These figures give a total of 570 dead only. It is estimated that more than five thousand persons were killed and more than fifteen thousand injured, and if the hospital figures are accepted as a basis for determining the ratio of the Muslim and Hindu casualties it will be clear that the Muslims fared almost as badly the Hindus. When this circumstance came to light the Muslim League leaders and the Muslim League Press asserted vehemently that the rioting was started by the supporters of the Congress and some of them even went so far as to say that the Hindus had prepared a deeply laid plan to commit wholesale murder of Muslims on Direct Action Day in order to discredit the Muslim League. On the other hand, it was said that the Muslims had an efficient transport and ambulance corps and all their dead and injured were taken to hospital, while Hindu dead bodies were for the most part burnt or destroyed and, therefore, did not figure in the official statistics.

* * * *

It is convenient here to anticipate the chronology of events and say a few words about what happened in Calcutta during the following twelve months. Complete peace did not return to the

* Report of the Commissioner of Police.

city even after the fury of these four days was over. There were days on which no incidents took place. Then followed days and weeks during which stray and sporadic assaults were reported from different quarters of the city. On some days there were as many as ten murders. Muslims and non-Muslims both took part in these criminal acts. In the beginning of August 1947, when the partition of the province was imminent and the Government of the future East Bengal was ready to leave Calcutta, attacks on Muslims increased. Calcutta appeared to be on the verge of another catastrophe similar to the one in which it had been plunged a year previously. Mahatma Gandhi then came to the rescue and decided to live in Calcutta until peace was restored. Accompanied by Mr. Suhrawardy, he took up his residence in the house of a Muslim and, braving the anger of the Hindus, began to preach his gospel of non-violence. On one occasion a Hindu mob attacked the house in which he was living and a *lathi* was actually thrown at him. He stood his ground undaunted and his courage worked a veritable miracle in Calcutta. Sanity returned to the people and on August 15, when the independence of India was celebrated in the city, Hindus and Muslims joined hands as brothers and went through the streets shouting "Hindu-Muslim *ek ho.*"

(ii)

The results of the Calcutta episode did not, in the ultimate analysis, prove very gratifying to the Muslim League leaders. The Hindus suffered grievously both in life and in property. Large numbers of them left their habitation and migrated to the neighbouring districts of West Bengal and Bihar. The exhibition of Muslim strength and solidarity had, however, failed to intimidate the non-Muslims. A large number of Muslims was killed or wounded and the damage to Muslim property was not inconsiderable. This was not what Mr. Suhrawardy or Mr. Usman had hoped for or anticipated. It was small consolation to lay the entire responsibility of the tragic events on the shoulders of the Congress. It was clear that Direct Action Day plans had miscarried and some vindication of this disastrous failure was necessary. The passions aroused in Calcutta found a more satisfying release in the district of Noakhali where Maulvi Ghulam Sarwar, an ex-M.L.A. and a religious Pir, succeeded in working up the Muslim passions by spreading grossly exaggerated stories of what had happened in Calcutta. In that city stray assaults

had continued after August 20. On September 2, the day on which the Congress Interim Government assumed office, rioting broke out in the Muslim quarters in the city of Bombay and continued for several days, taking a toll of over two hundred killed and nearly a thousand injured. On September 5, the papers reported recrudescence of trouble at Calcutta and, during the weeks that followed, the tension showed no signs of easing. Then in the beginning of October Noakhali and Tippera were in flames.

* * * *

The district of Noakhali is a narrow strip of land 55 miles long and 22 miles broad, lying along the Bay of Bengal. It also includes a number of small islands situated in the Bay. Tippera lies to the north of Noakhali. The two districts are flanked by rivers and numerous streams flow through them. Towards the end of the monsoon, communications present serious difficulties and, in some parts, means of transport are restricted to small country boats which proceed along the hyacinth-covered water-ways at the rate of one mile per hour. Travelling on foot in these areas is more speedy and often more convenient. A few roads also serve the two districts but when disturbances broke out the roads were breached in several places and some bridges were destroyed. The passage of cars and lorries was thus almost completey stopped. It is, therefore, not surprising that for some days no news of the great upheaval reached the outside world and it was not till October 14 that Calcutta heard of anything wrong or unusual occurring in Noakhali. By that date a great deal had happened. Hundreds of murders had been committed, thousands of women had been dishonoured and carried away or compelled to marry Muslims. Whole villages had been burnt down and razed to the ground. Almost the entire Hindu population of the district had been robbed of all they possessed and then forcibly converted to Islam.

Anti-Hindu propaganda was started in Noakhali towards the end of August. Meetings were held throughout the district on August 29 which was the occasion of the *Id* festival. Rumours were spread through the district that bands of armed Sikhs had been imported from outside with the object of assaulting and murdering Muslims. The Maulvis in their *waaz* (sermon) preached hatred against the non-Muslims and warned the Muslims to be on their guard. Soon afterwards looting of Hindu shops and houses in various parts of the district began.

Temples were desecrated and idols were broken. There were a few cases of forcible conversion. In the beginning of September Pir Ghulam Sarwar took a hand. This gentleman was originally opposed to the Muslim League and had openly disapproved of the *hartal* of August 16. He, however, joined the Muslim League in the first week of September and at once began to use all the influence at his command in disseminating unrest among his followers. He addressed large audiences and exhorted them to avenge the massacre of Muslims in Calcutta. He threatened police officers and told them to doctor the reports of his utterances. When the *Puja* festival drew near, Hindus travelling by boat were held up and deprived of their ornaments and valuables. Some dacoities were committed in Hindu houses in a number of villages in the district. There were reports of buffaloes being butchered in public near mosques and other places. Mr. Haran Chandra Ghosh Chowdhury, speaking on an adjournment motion in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on February 6, mentioned a number of incidents which took place between August 29 and October 10.

"Debi Prasanna Guha of Babupur was murdered on the *Id* day and the Congress office in front of his house was burnt to ashes; one of his brothers and a servant were also assaulted.

"While fishing in the Feny River, a group of fishermen were attacked with deadly weapons resulting in the death of one and serious injuries to two others.

"Chandra Kumar Karmakar of Monpura was murdered near Jamalpur on the *Id* day.

"Jamini Dey, a servant of the hotel, while proceeding to Ghoshbag on the *Id* day, was murdered on the way. Dead body in a decomposed condition with his clothes was found later.

"Nine fishermen of Charuriah, less than a mile from the town, were seriously assaulted with deadly weapons. Seven of them were admitted into hospital. They were prevented from coming out and lodging any complaint with the police.

"Shops of Kamini Kumar Paul and Jadav Chandra Saha were looted at Chandraganj and Jadav Chandra Saha was beaten.

"Hindu shops of Koresh Munshi Hat in Feni Sub-division were looted.

"Three boats full of clothes were looted at Bholakot.

" Temple of the family diety of Harendra Ghose of Rajpur was desecrated by butchering a calf and throwing it inside the temple.

" Shiva Temple of Dr. Jadunath Majumdar of Chandipur was similarly desecrated.

" Family deities of Nagendra Majumdar and Rajkumar Choudhury of Dadpur were desecrated and stolen.

" Many Hindu shops and two pharmacies of Kankirhat were looted.

" All the properties of six or seven families of Kanur Char were looted.

" A gang armed with deadly weapons entered the house of Jadav Mojumdar of Karpara, assaulted Nakul Mojumdar and looted properties worth Rs. 1,500.

" Hindu shopkeepers of Tajmohammad Hat were victimised and driven away.

" Some Hindu shops of Shahapur Bazar were looted.

" Ashu Sen of Debsingpur was severely beaten near Tajumiarhat at Char Parbati.

" House of Sj. Prasanna Mohan Chakravorty, B.L., at Tatarkhil, was looted and Durga image was broken. A buffalo was butchered.

" Rajkumar Choudhury of Banspara was brutally assaulted on his way home.

" Durga images of Sj. Iswar Chandra Pathak, Kethuri, Sj. Kedareswar Chakravorty of Merkachar and Sj. Ananta Kumar De of Angrapara were also broken.

"Houses of Nabin Chandra Nath of Miralipur and of Radhacharan Nath of Latipur were raided. Nobin Chandra and Radha Charan and five members of his family were injured.

" Shop of Subal Chandra Banik of Nandanpur was looted at Sonapur Bazar."

The total population of the district is twenty-two lakhs of which 80 per cent are Muslims. The Hindu minority found itself completely helpless. Many of them did not dare to lodge any complaint with the police for fear of further oppression and harassment. Some complainants were actually harassed and assaulted because they had had the temerity to report against the Muslims. The disturbances spread and increased in intensity at

a rapid rate and, in the beginning of October, Muslim mobs began attacking Hindu houses on the pretext of searching for Sikh and Hindu *goondas* who were alleged to have been brought to Noakhali for the purpose of attacking Muslims. Another method adopted was to make demands for large sums of money in order to relieve the sufferings of the Calcutta Muslims. In some cases, as much as a thousand rupees were demanded from an individual. The demand was almost invariably followed by looting and burning. A school master of Khilpara stated that his house was attacked in this manner by seven different gangs each numbering about three hundred or four hundred. All images and sacred pictures were desecrated and smashed and he and his family were then forcibly converted to Islam. This is typical of what was happening all over the district of Noakhali. A crowd of Muslims drawn from a number of contiguous villages would proceed to a chosen village, loot and burn all the Hindu houses and then convert the non-Muslim population to Islam *en masse*, on pain of death. They would carry away the womenfolk and give them in marriage to Muslims. It was estimated that at least 95 per cent of the non-Muslim population of Noakhali District was, in this manner, converted to Islam and their women dishonoured. The converted persons were made to read *kalma*, slaughter cows and eat their flesh. The conch-shell bangles of the women were broken and the *sandhoor* mark was removed before they were made to marry into Muslim families. The converted persons were given Muslim dress to wear including caps printed with League flags, a map of Pakistan and the slogan "Pakistan *Zindabad*." Thousands of these caps had been imported into the district and distributed in the various villages. It is astonishing how the enormous quantity of cloth used in the manufacture of these caps was obtained in those days of strict cloth control.

On October 10, the Lakshmi *Puja* Day, a meeting was held at the Sahapur English High School and this meeting was attended by about fifteen thousand Muslims. Pir Ghulam Sarwar exhorted the Muslims to attack the *kutchery bari* of Babu Surendra Nath Bose, Zemindar of Narayanpur, and the house of Rai Sahib Rajendra Lal Roy Chowdhury of Karapra. Immediately after this the Hindu shops in Sahapur Bazar were burnt down by the mob in the presence of the Sub-Inspector of Police. The mob then attacked Narayanpur Kutchery and set fire to it. When the house was in flames Surendra Babu jumped down from the first floor and

fell in front of the Muslim mass who immediately set upon him and hacked him to pieces. They then threw the pieces into the flames and presented the head to the Pir Sahib who was standing at a short distance. The house of Rajendra Babu was then attacked and set fire to. The inmates climbed up to the roof and some of the hooligans fired shots at them. The unfortunate victims took shelter behind the garret. A portion of the roof collapsed and some of them fell into the flames and lost their lives. A number of hooligans cut down a tall coconut tree and, using it as a ladder, climbed on to the roof. "One by one the male inmates were brought down and mercilessly butchered on the spot. The female inmates were brought down and cordoned off and taken to the Pir Sahib who was waiting in a boat at a distance. He ordered them to be taken to some other house. The heads of Rajendra Babu and some others were reported to have been presented to the Pir Sahib. Thirty-four persons, including about half a dozen unknown figures, were killed on the spot." *

The trouble in Noakhali spread to the neighbouring district of Tippera where too the same methods of looting, burning and converting the non-Muslims were adopted. The number of murders was not very large. Estimates vary between 250 and 5,000. There is no satisfactory evidence on this point and an I.C.S. officer of the Bengal Government who went to investigate local conditions reported that about 250 persons only had been killed. This figure is certainly an understatement, but the indications are that the loss of life in Noakhali and Tippera was not considerable. The aim of the Noakhali Muslims was to terrorize the Hindus, dishonour their women, plunder their property, desecrate their gods and convert them to Islam.

Footpaths and roads leading to villages were watched by Muslim hooligans and the egress and ingress of everyone was stopped. A party of Government officials proceeding to Haemchar Bazar by boat found their progress arrested by a barricade across the stream, built of banana trees and water hyacinth. They had to cut a channel through this barrier. It was observed that a number of small Muslim boys were watching the scene and when they saw the boat approach they gave warning to someone who could not be seen. The police were either indifferent or helpless. Conditions in the *thana* of Raypur in the district of Noakhali were

* Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, February 6, 1947.

appalling. When the disturbances began all Hindus of Raypur left their homes and took refuge in the *thana.* A mob of Muslims arrived and demanded that all male Hindus should be handed over for conversion. The police officer in charge of the *thana* immediately complied with this demand although he had a number of muskets with him. The result was that all these males were dragged away by the mob and converted to Islam. A prominent Brahmin merchant was murdered in the *thana* compound. A few days later when a Government official specially sent by the Bengal Government arrived at Raypur he found that the non-Muslim public had lost all confidence, and even in the *thana* compound Hindus were afraid to wear their own clothes and were obliged to walk about in Muslim dress. Hundreds of written complaints were made to the police but on very few of them was any action taken. In the police station of Ramgunje 777 complaints had been lodged upto November 3 and, although each complaint named between two and ten accused persons, the police had arrested only fifty-four individuals. Within two miles of the police station resided two Muslim ringleaders who had been named in several complaints. Both of them were gun licence-holders. The police did not arrest them or apply for the cancellation of their licences. The state of affairs in the other police stations was no better. Hundreds of Muslims accused of very serious offences were not arrested or, when arrested, were released on bail in small amounts. It was said that the whereabouts of Maulvi Ghulam Sarwar were not known although he went about the district freely, disseminating his poison among receptive fanatics. On the other hand, a number of counter-cases against Hindus were registered and the police showed extraordinary zeal in prosecuting them. There were some cases even against police officials and military men who had tried to quell the riots, and complaints were made that these cases hampered the work of the police and the army. The raiders were frequently helped by ex-servicemen who had experience of blowing up bridges and roads. In some cases of arson stirrup-pumps were used to spray the houses with petrol or kerosene. The damage done to Hindu houses was so complete that in affected villages hardly a single Hindu house stood. The disturbances began on a mass scale on October 10 and spread through Noakhali and Tippera during the following days. On the 13th and 14th the rioting reached its peak and then began to decrease gradually. Normal conditions were not, however, restored for a considerable time as

non-Muslims found it impossible to go back to their homes and live peacefully.

During the disturbances the districts were visited by Acharya Kripalani, President of the Congress. He flew over some of the affected area on October 19 and remained touring in the district until the 26th. On his way to Comilla, on the morning of the 19th, he flew very low over the area north of Begumganj and Chitansi and saw houses burning in ten or fifteen villages. On the 20th he again flew over Noakhali and saw fresh fires burning in Faridganj, Raypur, Chandpur and Ramgunje areas. In Charhain village he found that every non-Muslim house was completely devastated. Hindu houses had been burnt down and looted of all movables including ornaments, utensils, clothes and foodgrains. The cattle had been driven away. In Khalpara and Hipara all Hindu shops had been looted and League flags were flying on them. Soon after the President's visit the Bengal Government sent one I.C.S. officer to tour the district of Noakhali and another to Tippera to investigate conditions at the spot. These officers saw a part of the havoc perpetrated by the Muslim fanatics. In Noakhali it was found that almost every Hindu house in the affected villages had been thoroughly looted. The looting was thorough and complete. " Floors were dug up, courtyards were dug up, even adjacent pools of water into which many of the victims had thrown their utensils, etc., in a last minute effort to hide them, were dragged and the booty fished out." The victims were left with only the clothes they stood in. The houses were then burnt and all that could be seen was a heap of blackened and twisted corrugated iron lying on the plinth of the house. It was estimated that 99 per cent of the non-Muslim houses had been looted and between 70 and 90 per cent of the houses had been burnt down. In Tippera the conditions were equally distressing. Here, too, the looting and arson had been on a very wide scale. The Special Officer said in his report, " I was appalled by what I saw in such villages as Paikpara and Haemchar. It is, however, not enough to speak of merely two villages by name. In all the affected villages, the scenes of wreckage cannot be adequately described. Large homesteads have ceased to exist and loss of property has been very considerable. No description of the condition of Haemchar Bazar can be sufficiently vivid ; it must be visited to be appreciated," and again, " In the affected villages, there is chaos, destruction of homesteads, an absence of any sign of movable property, despondency and apprehension ; the few

who have remained are anxious to leave. The destruction is so complete that, except for sheets of corrugated iron, the looting of which is in progress each night even at present, nothing remains but pathetic wreckage. . . . Large numbers of small personal temple-huts have been burnt out, images have been pulled down and smashed and at least one large and brick-built temple has been looted and desecrated." This was written on November 5, 1946.

The condition of refugees was deplorable. Foodstuffs were unavailable and the price of rice when it could be obtained was Rs. 2 per seer. A large number of refugees had congregated at different places and their state was pitiable. At Faridganj on November 2 there were about six thousand refugees huddled on boats and sheltering in huts ashore. Many of them were suffering from dysentery and other diseases. Rescue parties sent from Calcutta were refused police protection and had to go back.

Gandhiji heard of these tragic events and, on October 22, he resolved to go to East Bengal. He said he wanted to wipe away the tears of the outraged womanhood of Noakhali. Soon after this decision was made, serious rioting broke out in Bihar; and large numbers of Muslims suffered at the hands of the Hindus. Gandhiji went on a partial fast and, before leaving Calcutta for Noakhali, he sent a message to the Bihar Hindus that unless they stopped their mad orgy, he would fast unto death. Bihar returned to peace and sanity within a very short time. In the meantime Gandhiji arrived in Noakhali on November 6 and began to preach his gospel of brotherly love and *ahimsa*. He stayed for almost exactly four months and went from village to village telling the Hindus to shed their fear and have faith in God. He asked the Muslims to love their Hindu brethren.

The first village he stayed at was Choumhoni. The place presented a sorry spectacle. The Hindu habitations had been reduced to a mass of rubble and shapeless mud. All around lay the charred remains of human flesh and bone. The stains of blood on what were once door-steps were still visible and the smell of corpses hung in the air. Clusters of arecanut and coconut palms dotting the landscape intensified the tragedy of human suffering. The few women who were present came and sobbed out their sorrow at Gandhiji's feet. The same story was repeated in every village he went to. He listened in silence and tried to give comfort to the crucified souls. "My heart weeps before God," he would say, "although my eyes have no tears." He spoke to the Muslims

and invited them to his prayer meetings. After a few days he decided to disperse his party and send individual members to different villages. He asked them to stay there and act as hostages for the safety and security of the Hindu residents. He himself made Srirampur his headquarters and stayed there for forty-one days. He visited all the neighbouring villages and held prayer meetings in which he brought Hindus and Muslims together and spoke to them of brotherly love. He accepted invitations to distant villages and returned home at the dead of night, in boats tugged through dense hyacinth-logged canals. On January 2, he began his great lonely march. Staff in hand and walking barefoot through slush and mud, through palm groves and bamboo thickets, this dark frail man of 77, trudged on and on, day after day, from village to village, carrying the torch of truth and *ahimsa*. Thorns pricked his feet and made the soles bleed, but he declined the offer of shoes, saying he was on a pilgrimage and a pilgrim must walk barefoot. His programme was one night one village, and he visited twenty-nine villages. In the course of this march he made the acquaintance of Muslim men and women and won their affection and co-operation. He brought the light of reason and sanity to mad Noakhali. Large numbers of Muslims came forward and pledged to protect the Hindu minorities. Confidence once again returned, the Hindus cast away their fears and began to go back to their homes.

On February 4 Gandhiji left East Bengal.

There can be very little doubt that the Noakhali and Tippera disturbances were the result of a planned attempt to intimidate the Hindus and make war upon their religion. The manner in which the rioting began in a large number of villages and the procedure adopted by the mobs are clear proof of this. The help rendered by the ex-servicemen, the use of stirrup-pumps, the mode of conversion employed and the distribution of thousands of Muslim League caps is wholly inconsistent with the hypothesis of a sudden and spontaneous uprising on the part of a few hooligans who attacked the rich Hindus with the object of looting them and then as suddenly brought their activities to an end. There was, no doubt, a determined attempt to loot and destroy Hindu property but the assault on their religion and their womenfolk was made with even greater intensity. The riots were preceded by virulent propaganda carried out all over the district by fanatical Muslim Leaguers, and there can be no doubt that in East Bengal they were able to

achieve results far more satisfactory than in Calcutta on the official Direct Action Day.

The presence of Gandhiji brought peace and confidence to the Hindu minority but only temporarily. With the establishment of Pakistan on August 15, 1947, the atmosphere was once again polluted and a large-scale exodus of the non-Muslim population started. This still continues.*

(iii)

The events in Calcutta and Noakhali could not fail to have repercussions in the neighbouring Province of Bihar. Calcutta was the workshop and business premises of thousands of Biharis drawn from all parts of Bihar and particularly from the Gangetic districts of Saran, Patna, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Monghyr and Bhagalpur. The ghastly drama enacted on August 16, 1946, and the following days at Calcutta gave them a feeling of insecurity and, leaving their adopted homes, their business and employment, they returned to their native towns and villages. The harrowing tales of massacre, rape, arson and plunder which they related stirred the emotions of the Bihar Hindus. Newspapers published accounts and pictures of the atrocities perpetrated by the Muslims. Even the sober and aloof indifference of the European-owned *Statesman* was moved to a passionate condemnation of the mob rule prevailing in the city of Calcutta. It may be presumed that the refugees smarting under the injury (personal and financial) did not understate the situation, and the imagination of the listeners was fired by sympathy for the sufferers and a desire to take revenge. The attitude of the Bihar Muslims had contributed very little towards a peaceful solution of the problems which presented themselves to the minds of the Bihar Hindus or towards appeasing the sullen tempers which grew more sullen with every item of gruesome news arriving from Calcutta. Peace had prevailed throughout the province on Direct Action Day and one or two stray cases of conflict in Gaya, Jamalpur and Bhagalpur were too insignificant to give the authorities cause for alarm or even anxiety. The League spokesmen had exercised no restraint in their utterances on August 16. At a meeting held in the Anjuman Islamia Hall, some of the speakers referred to the strength of the sword, by which alone the Muslims had achieved whatever they had achieved in the past. They held out promises

* For the later activities of Pir Ghulam Sarwar see Note (iii) to Chapter II, Appendix I.

of like success if like means were adopted. One speaker, Syed Muhammad Abdul Jalil, categorically said that the Qaid-e-Azam and Messrs. Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy had unequivocally said that non-violence was not a creed of the Muslims and that the Muslims were free to use any weapons that might be of assistance to them:

> " *Unka hamla aur unka tarz-i-amal* non-violence *hota hai lekin main saf kah dena chahta hun keh hamare numaindagan* Qaid-e-Azam, Nazimuddin *aur* Suhrawardy *nen is cheez ko saf kar diya hai ki hamare samne* non-violence *hargiz koi cheez nahin hai. Ham jab jang karna chahenge to jo cheez hamare pas hogi usko ham hathiyar banayenge aur ham usko istemal karenge.*"

(Their attack and their conduct is based on non-violence but I want to make it clear to you that our representatives, Qaid-e-Azam, Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy have made it clear that to us non-violence means nothing. When we want to fight we shall make use of whatever weapons we have.)

Shaheedul Haq of the Muslim Students' Federation was particularly provocative and declared that for a Muslim the way to heaven lay both by killing and by being killed by a Hindu.

These fulminations and indiscreet outbursts of the Muslim leaders caused a great deal of resentment, and the gloomy foreboding to which they gave rise caused unrest and brought about a feeling of insecurity. The tension increased every day as news of greater and more extensive disasters from Calcutta was received. On August 18, the *Statesman* of Calcutta announced that over 170 persons had been killed and 1,000 injured. On August 19, the news was that 270 had been killed and 1,600 injured. On the 20th the *Statesman* announced that the death roll was between 2,000 and 3,000. Thousands of refugees began to leave Howrah; and the Bihar Government, fearing an outbreak in the province, issued instructions to the magistracy and the police asking them to exercise special vigilance in maintaining law and order. They were enjoined to enforce not only the ordinary law but also the Emergency War Legislation which had not yet expired and was to remain in force until the end of September. The Provincial Armed Police Reserve were moved to strategic centres, e.g., Patna, Muzaffarpur, Monghyr and Gaya. On August 28, the *Statesman* annnounced that 3,468 bodies had so far been accounted for in Calcutta. The

Interim Central Government was expected to take over charge at Delhi on September 2, 1946, and this further complicated matters because the Muslim League had not joined the Government and their attitude was fraught with danger to the public peace. On August 27, the Provincial Government issued telegrams to all District Magistrates calling upon them to warn all important communal-minded persons. At the same time the officiating President of the Provincial Congress Committee sent instructions to all Congressmen to abstain from doing anything which might cause offence to any party or group in the country. The situation at the moment was so tense that at Ranchi the news of a buffalo fight caused a panic. Shops were shut down and frightened women ran home. The Provincial Government distributed a large number of leaflets issued over the signatures of the Premier and leaders of both communities. These leaflets asked the people to keep calm, check rumours and show a spirit of tolerance, and, at all cost, avoid a repetition of the unfortunate happenings at Calcutta. As the result of these efforts the occasion of the *Idul-Fitr* (August 29, 1946) passed off without any incidents. Even on September 2, no untoward incident happened and the Muslims who were not in sympathy with the Interim Central Government happily flew black flags on their houses. An undercurrent of tension, however, continued during the following weeks although there were no incidents of any type.

The first serious riot occurred on September 27, at Benibad district Muzaffarpur. News had gone round that a local Muslim had brought a Bengali Hindu girl from Calcutta and was keeping her against her wishes. Investigation proved that the girl had in fact been brought from Calcutta but she had voluntarily embraced Islam and had married her Muslim lover. The truth, however, was not known till later, and in the meantime a riot broke out. A police truck bringing magistrates and armed force to the village in order to quell the disturbance had a breakdown on the way and was delayed. This unfortunate incident precipitated events and resulted in a serious deterioration of the communal situation throughout North Bihar. Fuel was added to the fire by a singularly stupid and provocative act of the President of the Muslim League at Biharsharif. This gentleman was the Secretary of the Cloth Distribution Committee and in this capacity handled cloth ration cards. He stamped every ration card with the words "*Allah-ho-Akbar, Leyke rahenge* Pakistan." Nothing more unfortunate in the circumstances

can be imagined. The trouble was, however, still local and confined to a small area. It was overcome and the following days showed an improvement in the communal situation. *Dussehra*, which fell on October 2 to 5, was peaceful, there being just one incident in Monghyr District where the police had to open fire because the Sub-Divisional Officer and an armed police party were stoned by the mob.

In this state of tension the news of the Noakhali lawlessness began to arrive. The first announcement was contained in the *Statesman* of October 16, 1946, and the issues of the subsequent days brought tales of horror, murder, loot and arson. The Muslim League had joined the Interim Government on October 17, but the utterances of the Muslim League leaders showed that their decision did not contemplate co-operation with the Congress. In fact, Ghaznafar Ali Khan, speaking at Lahore, said:

> "We are going into the Interim Government to get a foothold to fight for our cherished goal of Pakistan. . . . The Interim Government is one of the fronts of the Direct Action Campaign and we shall most scrupulously carry out the order of Mr. Jinnah on any front that we are called upon to serve."

The happenings at Calcutta and Noakhali were associated with the Direct Action plan of the League. The Hindus could not help thinking that the campaign of murder and loot in Calcutta and East Bengal was part of a well-laid and pre-conceived design to intimidate and terrify the Hindus and the Congress so that they should be forced to concede Pakistan. Leaflets containing direct incitement to violence were recovered from Muslims in various parts of Bihar. In some leaflets, printed in Delhi, over the name of one Muhammad Bari, Hindus were described as the enemies of Islam and the writer referred to himself in the words of Saadi as "one whose head is to be found besmeared with the blood and dust of the battle-field." These leaflets were traced to the Secretary of the local Muslim League in South Bihar. In the second week of October two Maulvis from Hyderabad (Deccan) were found in possession of three leaflets. These purported to have been issued by Allama Amiruddin Sahib of Najore, North-Western Frontier Province. One of them was addressed to Mr. Jinnah and contained the following message:

> "So far we have given sufficient time to Indian infidels. It is time to remove the darkness of infidelity and illuminate the

whole universe by resplendent Islam. To accomplish this sublime cause we must slaughter the infidels as was done in the early days."

Another leaflet, found in circulation, was signed by one Habibur Rahman of Calcutta. This leaflet purported to contain the verbal directions of Mr. Jinnah and set forth elaborate instructions for the destruction of Hindu religion and culture, conversion and murder of Hindus, murder of nationalist Muslims, Congress leaders, and bestial attacks on Hindu women. No wonder the Hindu public of Bihar thought that the happenings at Calcutta and Noakhali were merely an implementation of the directions and plans contained in these leaflets.

On October 25, a number of meetings all over Bihar were organized to protest against the atrocities committed on the Hindus in East Bengal. The authorities took stock of the situation and after giving the matter their most careful consideration came to the conclusion that it would be unwise to prohibit these meetings as a prohibition in the circumstances would merely result in an unhealthy bottling up of emotions. Directions were given to the speakers to exercise restraint and moderation in their utterances. At least, in one place, namely, Bhagalpur, these directions were scrupulously respected. The Government had issued a circular from which the following passage may be quoted:

"I need hardly emphasise the importance which the Provincial Government attach to the maintenance of communal peace which, except for a few isolated outbreaks, has been maintained in this Province. The Emergency War Legislation . . . is of course no longer in force, but you should not hesitate to use the provisions of the ordinary law where you consider it necessary and you should have no hesitation in dealing with *agents provocateurs*, and persons whose acts or utterances may lead to trouble, whatever their status, party or creed. Officers who have done their duty to the best of their ability and judgment should rest assured that they will have full support of the Provincial Government in taking whatever action they consider necessary to prevent a dangerous outbreak."

These precautions, directions and exhortations were, however, of no avail and October 25 saw a serious outbreak of trouble which spread and increased during the following days, reached its peak on November 3 and 4, and then rapidly died down. During these twelve dark days the Hindus of Bihar let their passions loose upon

their Muslim brethren and drank deep of the cup of revenge. Trouble began at Chapra, the headquarters of Saran District. A meeting had been arranged in order to condemn the Noakhali outrages; but, before the meeting could be held, rioting started in the town beginning with a fatal attack on a Muslim League protagonist who had been marked down by the hooligans for his communal activities. In the course of the afternoon and evening there were eight or nine different riots in the town and altogether fifty incidents were reported. The police opened fire on three separate occasions at three different places and the military was sent for. Trouble also started at Jamalpur in Monghyr District where the celebration of the Kali *Puja* by the Hindus was interfered with by some Muslims who threw brickbats. The disturbance was temporarily controlled. At Bhagalpur there was a similar incident and the Kali image was stoned during the night. On the 26th, the rioting gathered intensity and began to spread to fresh localities. The rural areas in the vicinity of Chapra were aflame and a Hindu mob advancing towards Chapra was stopped only when the police opened fire on them. In Monghyr town rioting had begun and twenty-two persons were injured. In village Chichraun a Kali procession was attacked by a Muslim mob and the image was damaged by them. The Hindus were compelled to leave the image in the fields and this gave rise to a great deal of resentment against the Muslims. A riot broke out in Bhagalpur and in the Tarapur area in Monghyr District.

On November 2, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru arrived in Patna and began an extensive whirlwind tour of the disturbed areas by car, train and plane. He visited Biharsharif, Jetli, Mouzipur, Fatwa, Khusrupur, Bakhtiarpur, Patna City, Hilsa, Jehanabad, Gaya, and numerous other places. He rebuked the Hindus and told them that retaliation would only bring fresh trouble and ruin upon both communities. He comforted the Muslims and told them to show courage and remain peaceful. The Hindus were openly hostile to Pandit Nehru and he had to face an angry audience at Patna after a Hindu mob had been ordered to be fired upon at Nagarnausa. On November 3 and 4 trouble in all the districts of Patna, Saran, Bhagalpur, Gaya and Monghyr was at its height. There were cases of cold-blooded murders of Muslims, dead bodies were thrown in wells and property was looted and burnt. There were some instances of Muslims attacking Hindus and these only exacerbated feelings further. From two villages in Hilsa area it

was reported that Muslims armed with guns had attacked Hindu houses and killed several people without provocation. This resulted in a terrible exhibition of mob frenzy and the punishment exacted by the Hindus was severe. The killing in Tilhar, Telonar, Masathu and Nagarnausa was on a large scale. The military and the police had to open fire several times. News now came that Gandhiji had started a partial fast to do penance for the Bihar atrocities. He had declared his resolve to fast unto death unless conditions in Bihar showed immediate improvement. Leaflets announcing Gandhiji's resolve and asking the people to put an end to this mad orgy were dropped from the air over the troubled areas. The Government mobilized all its machinery and resources to attain the desired end. The Provincial Congress Organization turned its whole attention to this purpose, and at once an improvement was noticeable. When the seriousness of Gandhiji's resolve was realized, the mad frenzy which had suddenly seized the people of Bihar towards the end of October and had raged unabated for little more than a whole week, died down almost completely on November 7. When Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru left Bihar on November 9 after a week's stay the situation had returned to what might be described as normal, and on November 14 he made a statement in the Legislative Assembly in the course of which he said:

> "The Bihar situation was brought completely under control after a week and is quiet now. . . . This mass uprising lasted almost exactly a week. Just as it started suddenly it ended also equally suddenly. This rapid ending of a widespread movement which was on the verge of spreading to other districts was remarkable. The military, of course, came in at some later stage and helped in restoring order. But a much more powerful factor in this restoration of order was the fact that a large number of persons, chiefly Biharis, spread out all over the villages and faced the masses. News of the Mahatma's proposed fast also had a powerful effect."

The happenings in the five above-mentioned districts of Bihar are not a chapter of which the Biharis or the Provincial Government are proud. There has been no attempt to understate either the terrible nature of the catastrophe or the losses, but it must be made clear that exaggerated and garbled accounts of what actually occurred were spread by frightened or interested individuals. The number of murders was increased out of all proportion to reality.

It was alleged that a large number of Muslim women had been kidnapped and converted to Hinduism. Some Muslims carried the skulls of victims to the North-Western Frontier Province and exhibited them in the town of Hazara, inciting the spectators to exact vengeance from the *kafirs*. While it is not possible to prepare an accurate statement of the number of persons killed and wounded, a very careful and detailed enquiry made by the Provincial Government has brought to light the figures contained in the following table:

STATEMENT A

Districts	Muslims killed	Hindus killed	Total killed	Muslims injured	Hindus injured	Total injured
Saran	114	8	122	101	24	125
Patna	3,388	143	3,531	407	172	579
Gaya	547	19	566	113	7	120
Monghyr	1,021	48	1,069	436	1	437
Bhagalpur	158	6	164	94	89	183
Saharsa	8	—	8	2	2	4
Santal Parganas ..	47	—	47	209	—	209
E.I. Railway	44	—	44	85	8	93
O.T. Railway.. ..	7	—	7	4	—	4
Grand total ..	5,334	224*	5,558	1,451	303*	1,754

Some women must undoubtedly have been abducted but almost all of them were recovered. There were hardly any conversions and when, after the return of peace, an announcement was made inviting the Muslims to give names of abducted women, no names were mentioned. In the second week of November 1946 an assurance was given to Mian Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot that immediate action would be taken if the Relief Committee of the Muslim League or any other organization gave information regarding abducted women. The Khan, however, did not report a single case. The Relief Committee of the Muslim League reported one or two cases upon which prompt action was taken. The President of the Muslim League promised to give a list of abducted women to the Additional District Magistrate of Patna but no list was furnished. A Muslim lady M.L.A. was asked to give such a list but she, too, did not communicate any information to the Additional District Magistrate. Even Gandhiji at a meeting on March 30, 1947, observed:

"Since my arrival in Bihar I have been telling those Muslims who told me about the kidnapped girls to give me the names

* The majority of the Hindu casualties resulted from police and military firing on the riotous mobs

and the family connection of such girls in order to help them finding out if they were still alive; but up till now not one name has been submitted to me. I again ask you to submit names of these unfortunate girls."

Gandhiji, however, received no names. Some stray reports of kidnapping were received by the District Officers and prompt action was taken on every one of these. It may be mentioned that in some cases the information given was of a vague and nebulous type and searches carried out on the basis of such information proved fruitless. On January 15, 1948, eighteen women remained untraced and a reward of Rs. 1,000 for the recovery of each one of them was offered by the Government.

Mention has been made of the numerous occasions on which the police and military were ordered to open fire on the Hindu mobs in order to stop the rioting. The following tables give complete information on this point:

STATEMENT B
By Police

Serial No.	Districts	Occasions	Rounds	Killed	Injured
1	Saran	11	58	3	8
2	Saharsa	1	30	—	1
3	Muzaffarpur	1	4	—	—
4	O.T. Railway	—	*nil*	—	—
5	Patna	30	351	Over 57	15
6	Gaya	10	35	5	6
7	Monghyr	6	74	4	1
8	Bhagalpur	2	2 plus a few	—	—
9	Santal Parganas ..	1	2	—	—
10	E.I. Railway	—	—	—	—
	Total ..	62	556 plus a few	Over 69	About 31

STATEMENT B-1
By Military

Serial No.	Districts	Occasions	Rounds	Killed	Injured
1	Saran	—	—	—	—
2	Saharsa	—	—	—	—
3	Muzaffarpur	—	—	—	—
4	O.T. Railway	23	1,516	319	68
5	Patna	3	54	4	—
6	Gaya	1	60	1	—
7	Monghyr	—	—	—	—
8	Bhagalpur	—	—	—	—
9	Santal Parganas ..	—	—	—	—
10	E.I. Railway	—	—	—	—
	Total ..	27	1,630	324	68

The ordinary law was enforced with the utmost rigour and the following table shows the number of criminal cases brought against the persons concerned in these riots:

STATEMENT C

Serial No.	Districts	No. of persons sent up in criminal cases	No. of houses searched	No. of cases instituted
1	Saran	1,982	444	243
2	Patna	9,668	4,690	1,304
3	Gaya	1,003	1,783	159
4	Monghyr	2,980	876	449
5	Bhagalpur	1,524	649	492
6	Santal Parganas.. ..	239	86	14
7	Saharsa	79	177	7
8	E.I. Railway	49	72	17

It is to be noted that the disturbances were confined to only a small area of the province. The number of Muslims killed has been estimated at 5,334 and Muslims injured at 1,451. As against this, 224 Hindus lost their lives and 303 were injured. Most of the Hindu casualties resulted from police and military firing on the riotous mobs. Out of a total of fifty-four sub-divisions only fifteen were affected and no sub-division was affected in its entirety. Out of a total of 18,869 villages in Bihar, riots broke out in 750 villages only. The total number of houses in Bihar according to the census of 1941 is 6.96 millions and a fairly comprehensive enquiry shows that only 9,869 were damaged or destroyed. Thousands of Muslim families who had left the province during the troubles have returned. Compensation on an average of Rs. 200 per family has been given for purposes of rehabilitation. Building advances were also made by the Provincial Government. Gandhiji paid three visits to Bihar in the early part of 1947 and toured the rural areas which had been affected during the riots. It was his threatened fast which brought the orgy to a rapid conclusion and his subsequent visits helped to establish complete confidence in the minds of the Muslim population.

III

Que fait hors des maisons ce peuple? Qu'il s'en aille!
Soldats, mitraillez-moi toute cette canaille!
Feu! feu! Tu voteras ensuite, ô peuple-roi!
Sabrez l'honneur, sabrez le droit, sabrez la loi!
Que sur les boulevards le sang coule en rivières!
Du vin plein les bidons! des morts plein les c
Qui veut de l'eau-de-vie? En ce temps pluvieux
Il faut boire. Soldats, fusillez-moi ce vieux,
Tuez-moi cet enfant. Qu'est-ce que cette fe
C'est la mère? tuez. Que tout ce peuple infâme
Tremble, et que les pavés rougissent ses talons!

* * * *

C'est fait, réposez-vous; et l'on entend sonner
Dans les fourreaux le sabre et l'argent dans les poche
De la banque aux bivouacs on vide les sacoches.
Ceux qui tuaient le mieux at qui n'ont pas brouché
Auront la croix d'honneur par-dessus le march
Les vainqueurs en hurlant dansent sur les décombre
Des tas de corps saignants gisent dans les coins sombr
Le soldat, gai, féroce, ivre, complice obscur,
Chancelle, et, de la main dont il s'appuie au mur,
Achève d'écraser quelque cervelle humaine.
On boit, on rit, on chante, on ripaille, on amène
Des vaincus qu'on fusille, hommes, femmes, enfants.
Les généraux dorés galopent triomphants,
Regardés par les morts tombés à la renverse

V. HUGO—*Les Châtim*

CHAPTER THREE

THE PUNJAB

These convulsions left the tranquillity of the Punjab undisturbed News of the events in Calcutta, Noakhali and Bihar horrified the people and gave rise to a feeling of insecurity but produced no repercussions. Riots took place in Allahabad on August 23, 1946, and at Garh Mukteshwar in the Meerut District on November 6, 7 and 8 of the same year, and it seemed as if the murderous monster were approaching. On August 16, 1946, life in the Punjab had followed a normal and uneventful course. The Muslim League held meetings throughout the province and passed resolutions reaffirming their demand for Pakistan, but these demonstrations were entirely peaceful. It was not till March 4, 1947, that the storm of lawlessness broke over the province, but, when it came, it continued unabated (except for a few lulls) for several months and attained a degree of horror and destruction unequalled anywhere else.

There were several factors which contributed to bring about this phenomenon. The Punjab has always occupied a peculiar position in the history, economy and politics of India. A continuous procession of invading hordes from the west made it difficult for the province to have a settled and stable Government for any length of time. The Punjabi did not develop a peculiar indigenous culture. Political instability and frequent infusion of fresh ideas made him singularly prone to imitate and accept foreign notions about life and social behaviour. The birth and rise of the Sikh religion helped to promote the virile and unorthodox spirit, native to the soil of this dry and vigorous land. The Punjab has for long been the land of peasant proprietors, and a comparatively even distribution of wealth resulting from this circumstance has made for contentment and lack of interest in political affairs. This indifference towards national aspirations often made politicians lose their patience and accuse the Punjabis of impeding the progress of the country and being a drag on the rest of India. The British rulers kept a firm hold on this strategic province and prevented the growth of political discontent. They came to the Punjab as conquerors, established themselves in the seat of power in a remarkably short time and, at one stroke,

annexed the whole province. They preserved the existing system of land tenure which prevented the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few idle landlords, and the growth of an industrialist class. The Government of the province was conducted on the lines of a beneficent despotism. The ablest officers of the Indian Civil Service were encouraged to choose the Punjab and they were allowed a great deal of latitude in administrative matters. The District Officer in the Punjab had far more power and prestige than his prototype in, for instance, the United Provinces, where his attitude was not so aloof or godlike. Small wonder that the Punjab was called the Ulster of India and Congressmen despaired of finding a satisfactory response to nationalist cries in the robust heart of the Punjabi.

The population of the united Punjab, as recorded at the census of 1941, was 28.4 millions, comprising 16.2 millions Muslims, 7.5 millions Hindus and 3.7 millions Sikhs (the rest of the population was made up of Christians, etc.). The western districts were predominantly Muslim while the eastern districts were predominantly Hindu, or perhaps more correctly non-Muslim.* In the central districts the communities were evenly divided. The Sikhs were concentrated for the most part in the central districts of Ludhiana, Jullundur, Ferozepore, Amritsar, Lahore, Montgomery, Sheikhupura, Lyallpur and Gujranwala. The population in the towns did not show a pronounced bias in favour of any particular community though non-Muslim interests in property, commerce and industry predominated in all the urban areas.

When the arid lands in Sheikhupura, Lyallpur and Montgomery Districts were made culturable by the incidence of canal irrigation, the peasants from the central areas were persuaded to go and colonize these lands. Large numbers of enterprising Sikhs set up homes in the new colonies and their skill and industry brought prosperity to these hitherto unproductive districts. The Sikh soldiery, disbanded after the annexation of the Punjab, found employment in the areas irrigated by the Upper Bari Doab canal. Lyallpur has been described † as the daughter of Central Punjab.

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* In the Ambala Division the percentage of Muslims was only 28.07. In the Jullundur Division it was 34.53 per cent, whereas in the western districts this figure rose as high as 90.42 per cent in Attock, 89.42 per cent in Jhelum and 86.42 per cent in Muzaffargarh. Muslims in Rawalpindi Division were 85.52 per cent and in the Multan Division 75.43 per cent.

† By Sir Malcolm Darling.

More than a hundred thousand Sikhs from Amritsar District alone went to Lyallpur and helped to colonize it. In Montgomery there were a hundred and ten thousand Sikh military grantees. Population in the eastern districts was always more congested than in the western districts, and the establishment of these colonies provided a measure of relief in the east and helped to increase production in the west.* These Sikh colonists had their roots in the eastern districts and the setting up of new homes in the west did not involve a break with their original homes and villages. It meant, in the majority of cases, nothing more than a division of the family, some members of which remained in charge of the old ancestral lands while others went over to the colony. This preserved the family ties and kept alive the old association with home and village. This circumstance assumed great importance when the question of partitioning the province was bruited, and was responsible for much bloodshed in West as well as in East Punjab.

Another factor which contributed towards the malevolence and acrimony of the communal relations during and after the riots was the peculiarity of the Punjab land tenure system. Reference has already been made to this circumstance, but it is necessary to devote a little more attention to it. Ninety-four per cent of the landowners in the province paid less than Rs. 50 each as land revenue ; yet they contributed nearly 60 per cent of the total land revenue of the province. Of these a very large number (17.59 lakhs) paid Rs. 5 or less per annum. There were no more than thirty-six persons paying a land revenue of more than five thousand rupees per annum. This meant that a very large proportion of the population had a stake in the land and was attached to the soil. Among the non-Muslims especially, the floating population engaged in labour or menial tasks was almost negligible, whereas a large number of Muslims, residing more particularly in the eastern districts, had no proprietary interest in land. The Census Returns of 1931 showed that the Muslim population of the Punjab was 14.9 millions and of these no less than 4.7 millions or more than one-third, were weavers, cobblers, herdsmen, potters, mussalis (sweepers), carpenters, oilmen, beggars, bards, barbers, blacksmiths, butchers, washermen and mirasis. Again, the western

* The population density in the twelve eastern districts which now comprise East Punjab was 327 persons per sq. mile as compared to 264 persons per sq. mile in the western districts. The production of the eastern districts was, however, only 29 per cent as compared to the remaining 71 per cent of the western districts.

districts were far more productive than the eastern districts, the ratio of productivity being 71 per cent (west) to 29 per cent (east). Cotton was grown almost exclusively in the west where there was also a greater abundance of wheat and rice.*

The Sikhs thus had a very important landed interest in the districts of Gujranwala, Sheikhupura, Lyallpur and Montgomery, which now form part of Pakistan. Some of their shrines possessing deep emotional and cultural associations were also situated in this area. Nankana Sahib, for instance, where there are several Gurdwaras commemorating the birth of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, is in Sheikhupura District. Another famous shrine, known as the Gurdwara of Sacha Sauda, is situated in the same district. The Sikhs were, therefore, attached to some of the western districts by secular as well as spiritual ties. Such being the state of affairs, it is not surprising that their presence was a source of annoyance to the Muslims and a hindrance to the achievement of economic supremacy by them. Nor need we wonder at the extent of resentment and the desire for revenge displayed by the Sikhs when they were uprooted from the land they had developed and enriched, and were driven out of their homes.

* * * *

Constitutional Reforms and Local Self-Government came to the Punjab slowly and late. Until 1920 the Lieutenant-Governor ruled the province without the advice or assistance of Executive Councillors or of any non-official individual. He thus maintained a firm hold on the administrative machinery. With the exception of Sir Fazl-i-Hussain and Chaudhry Chhotu Ram, the Ministers appointed under the Chelmsford Reforms, were effete and ineffective. After the Government of India Act of 1935 Sir Fazl-i-Hussain attempted to form a non-communal party representing the interests of the Punjab zemindars. He realized that the alignment of parties on a purely religious or communal basis would lead to a stalemate, as no party would be in a position to command a clear majority or form a stable Ministry. The Unionist Party organized by him had Hindu, Muslim and Sikh members. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain died on July 9, 1936, before the elections were held, and the leadership of the Party devolved upon the shoulders

* The wheat produced in the eastern districts was only 15.7 *per capita* of the population as compared to 26.3 lbs. in the west. Only 14.4 per cent of the total rice produced in the province came from the eastern districts.

of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, a somewhat lukewarm and timid politician whose anxiety to keep himself in office frequently led him into difficult and thorny paths, extrication from which was only possible by a sacrifice of truth and integrity. He was thus driven into situations where prevarication and suppression of truth became necessary. His compromises with Mr. Jinnah and Sardar Baldev Singh succeeded only in discrediting him both with the Muslim League and the Sikhs.

The elections of 1937 resulted in a majority for the Unionist Party. The Muslim League succeeded in winning two seats only and one of the members resigned as soon as the Assembly met and joined the Unionist Party. The Punjab had thus given a decisive verdict against the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah was anxious to secure the support of a Muslim majority province and invited Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan to the Lucknow Session of the All-India Muslim League in October 1937. The Sikandar-Jinnah Pact * thus came into existence and Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan divided his loyalties between the Muslim League and the non-Muslim members of his Unionist Party. On the sudden death of Sir Sikandar at the peak of his glory in December 1942, Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana succeeded him as the Provincial Premier. His attitude towards the Muslim League was a little more robust than that of his predecessor and entailed a definite breach with Mr. Jinnah. The dismissal of Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan from the Ministry on charges of corruption and nepotism created a bitter and vociferous opponent of Sir Khizar Hayat Khan and the Unionist Party.

The provincial elections, held in the beginning of 1946, were marked by a display of unprecedented acerbity and vituperation. The Unionist candidates were dubbed as heretics and slaves of the *kafir* Hindus. Muslim students from Aligarh were imported to spread disaffection against the non-Muslims. Khizar Hayat Khan found that, in this election campaign, Muslim officials were ranged against him. The story is told of a District Inspector of Schools telling the voters that unless they voted for the Muslim League candidate their sons would fail in their school examinations. He issued instructions to all school masters subordinate to him to implement his wishes in this respect. He then went to see the Deputy Commissioner and, believing him to be a Muslim, spoke of his activities with a glow of pride. Unfortunately for him, the Deputy Commissioner was a Christian with a Muslim name and

* See notes to Chapter III in Appendix I.

the matter was reported to the higher authorities. Brailsford, the well-known journalist who was an eye-witness of this election, wrote as follows:

"Three great powers confront the Muslim peasants—the feudal landlord, the Government and the League. Of these three only the League can reach his emotions, and it has been in action everywhere on behalf of the Muslim League. It has created a fear that Islam is in danger. The clergy tells the peasants that their hope of salvation depends on their voting for the League and sometimes they enforce this appeal by parading the roads with a copy of the Quran. I have heard the loudspeaker on their cars shouting the slogan 'A curse on the infidel Hindus.' The result is that a wave of communal feeling has gripped the Muslims of this province, who form a slight majority of its population, and, with rare exceptions, they have rallied to the demand for Pakistan. Few have thought it out in detail, but in Lahore, the average man who can read a newspaper, the clerk or the shopkeeper, does at least know dimly what it means. He will tell you that he wants a State in which the Muslims will rule. I got no further in questioning the well-educated upper stratum. When I asked whether Pakistan would build a tariff wall against Hindustan, even the candidates answered: 'That is for the leaders to decide.' The well-bred upper class is not fanatical. . . . Fanaticism is the expedient they use to win the masses."*

The result of the elections was an overwhelming success for the Muslim League. The position of the parties stood as follows: Muslim League 75, Congress 51 (including one Muslim), Akalis 22, Unionists 20 (including 13 Muslims) and Independents 7. The Muslim League was thus the largest party in the Legislature but it did not possess a clear majority. Anxious and prolonged negotiations between the various parties followed and finally Sir Khizar Hayat Khan was able to secure the support of the Congress and Akali members, and announce the personnel of his Cabinet. The Muslim League leaders were indignant and started a bitter campaign against the Ministry.

Soon after the passing of the Direct Action resolution at Bombay, a Provincial Committee of Action was appointed.† An

* *The Tribune*, February 26, 1946.

† The Committee consisted of Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, President, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan Convenor, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Malik Feroze Khan Noon, Sheikh Karamat Ali, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din and Mian Abdul Aziz, members. Mian Mumtaz Daultana was its ex officio member as he was on the Central Committee of Action.

appeal was made to Muslim lawyers to go forth as "shock troops" and mobilize the masses in anticipation of the coming struggle. Students were enjoined to be ready for all emergencies and Muslim women were called upon to learn First Aid. Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan was assigned the task of enrolling National Guard volunteers. Maulana Shabir Ahmad Usmani, President, All-India Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam, declared: "To maintain discipline in the ranks when the war is on, to train our soldiers in the technique of that war, to provide for its means and material, to ensure its uninterrupted prosecution, to keep co-operation throughout the country and to arrange for meeting the requirements of the families of those who lose their lives are matters which call for immediate planning on an extensive scale." * A programme of Direct Action containing twenty-three points was received from Calcutta and communicated to the League workers. The programme contained detailed instructions for stabbing non-Muslims, setting fire to their houses and terrorizing them.†

The National Guards were provided with army helmets purchased from the Military Disposal Department and many of them were given firearms. They wore uniforms and were taught army drill. Group physical training was also undertaken by members of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh on an increasing scale though there is no evidence of the members of this organization possessing any arms at this stage. During December 1946 and January 1947 processions of National Guards in military formation began to parade the streets of Lahore, shouting provocative slogans. This display of what can only be called a hostile private army compelled the Punjab Government to declare the National Guards and the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh unlawful bodies on January 24, 1947. The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh submitted to the order and allowed its premises to be searched and locked up, but the Muslim National Guards took up a refractory attitude and, when the police arrived at their Lahore headquarters, they offered resistance. The members of the Muslim League Working Committee, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan and Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, hurried to the spot and refused to allow the search. They were immediately placed under arrest and the premises were broken open. Over a thousand steel helmets, uni-

* *Dawn* September 21, 1946.
† See note (ii) in Appendix I page 313.

forms and a mass of inflammatory literature were recovered by the police. It was said at the time that firearms and daggers lay concealed in the residential houses of the League leaders and the name of Mian Amir-ud-Din, Mayor of Lahore, was particularly mentioned in this connection. Subsequent events showed that the suspicions were not unfounded, for during the riots firearms were seen to be used from the house of Mian Amir-ud-Din on several occasions.

The next day Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan declared that the National Guards were an integral part of the Muslim League and that, therefore, an attack on them was an attack on the Muslim League. This statement, coupled with the arrest of the Punjab League leaders, was the signal for starting a ruthless agitation by the Muslim League. The cases against League leaders were withdrawn on January 26 and the ban placed on the Muslim League National Guards and the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh was revoked on the 28th, but "the League reaction to this was open defiance"* and the war of nerves continued. The agitation was ostensibly against the Khizar Ministry but, as this Ministry was supported by the Congress and Akali Parties, it assumed a communal shape. Every day meetings were held outside the Mochi Gate and violent speeches were delivered. Processions of students and women were organized and sent to march through the streets of Lahore in a most aggressive manner. Provocative slogans were shouted, e.g., "*Leyke rahengey Pakistan—Jaise liya tha Hindustan*" ("We will take Pakistan just as we once took Hindustan"), "*Khizar kanjar hai hai*" ("Khizar, the procurer is dead; O sorrow"), *Pakistan zindabad* ("Long live Pakistan"), "Unionist Ministry *murdabad*" ("Death to the Unionist Ministry"), etc.

The processions usually terminated near the Assembly Hall where the police made temporary arrests. A number of persons who claimed to be leading the procession were taken into custody and driven out of Lahore for a distance of ten or fifteen miles and then left on the road. This was an extremely stupid way of dealing with the situation, for the Muslim League workers took a number of cars and followed the police vans. As soon as the arrested persons were put out on the road they were brought back to Lahore in the League cars within a few minutes. The public naturally took the view that the Khizar Ministry was not firm

* Punjab Government Press *communique—Civil and Military Gazette*, January 29, 1947.

enough in suppressing this agitation because Khizar himself was to some extent in sympathy with them. This may or may not have been true, nevertheless, the fact remains that this agitation and the farce of putting it down continued for a period of thirty-four days. The processionists were not always peaceful. They stopped cars on the Mall and interfered with the traffic. On one occasion a huge procession entered the premises of the Lahore High Court, wandered about the corridors, entered and damaged Judges' chambers, broke windows and articles of furniture. Some of the agitators climbed on to the roof and replaced the Union Jack by a Muslim League flag. The Union Jack was then burnt. The damage caused to the premises of the High Court was estimated at several thousand rupees. On another occasion a procession of these hooligans went to the District Courts and smashed window-panes, doors and chairs. The police tried to disperse these processionists by firing tear-gas bombs at them, but the agitators soon learnt that a wet handkerchief placed against the nose is impervious to tear gas. One day a number of respectable Muslim women led by Lady Shafi went to the house of the Premier on the excuse of interviewing him. They entered his drawing room and began to do *siyapa* as if the owner of the house were dead. The Premier's womenfolk were deeply affected by this incident but no steps were taken to put a stop to these unpleasant, and at times dangerous, activities.

On February 20, 1947, the British Prime Minister announced that it was the considered intention of His Majesty's Government to transfer political power to Indian hands by June 1948 at the latest and that this decision would not be affected by the happenings in this country. This added to Mr. Jinnah's anxiety and placed Sir Khizar on the horns of a dilemma. Mr. Jinnah had now a little more than a year to consolidate his position in Western Pakistan, and efforts to reach a settlement in the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province were started. On February 25, the Punjab Government agreed to place before the Assembly certain Ordinances containing provisions prohibiting processions and militant organizations. This was hardly satisfactory from the League point of view as Khizar's Government had a majority in the House and these Ordinances would almost certainly be ratified. On the other hand, Khizar's position was unenviable. He felt that he had lost the support of the Muslim masses and the agitation against him was gathering force and venom. The official report

of Mr. Akhtar Hussain, Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, for the month of February describes the state of affairs in the province:

"The agitation which the Muslim League commenced on the 24th of January has continued until the time of drafting this report. It has affected all districts in the province in a varying degree and in places there have been situations of some seriousness. The campaign is one of deliberate disobedience and defiance of law conducted with a definite undemocratic political motive. So far there has been no sign that the Muslim League leaders at large or in jail have been persuaded to a sense of responsibility or to reasonableness. In the circumstances, the early restoration of the province to its normal life cannot confidently be expected. . . . The law and order field may be further and adversely affected if the Muslim League puts certain of its threats into action. These include interference with communications and a campaign of non-payment of taxes. . . . In three places—Amritsar, Jullundur and Ambala—the police were forced to resort to firing to control unruly violent crowds and there were casualties on both sides, some of them of a serious kind. . . .

"Among Hindus and Sikhs resentment to the agitation is growing and particularly in the case of the latter in an ominous degree. On the 12th of February . . . Master Tara Singh declared that it was communal in its essentials and had as its purpose the domination of the Punjab by Muslims. He called on the Sikhs to prepare themselves to face the Muslim League onslaught and towards this end, to organize the Akal Fauj."

In the circumstances Khizar could not look forward to the continued support of his Hindu and Sikh colleagues as the course of events in the Punjab was widening the gulf between the Muslims and the non-Muslims. The ties that bound the various elements in the Unionist Party were extremely tenuous. Moreover, the Punjab was part of Group B which had a preponderance of Muslim population and the future of a Punjab politician rested on Muslim support. Khizar had deemed it impolitic to deal with the League agitation with a firm hand and his indecision had earned him the odium of Muslims and non-Muslims alike. The former thought that his continuance in office was keeping the Muslim League out of power while the latter interpreted his mildness as sympathy for the League. The compelling force of

Mr. Attlee's statement demanded an immediate decision but a decision in the circumstances was no easy matter. Conditions in the province were fast approaching a state of anarchy while his own political future was dark and uncertain. Finally, realizing that whether he were in office or out he could exercise no influence on the future affairs of the Punjab, he decided to quit and on March 2, 1947, tendered his resignation. He justified his action by saying that the declaration of His Majesty's Government of February 20 had completely changed the position and that he must resign in order to let the Muslim League seek the co-operation of other parties and form a Government.

Events now moved with a rapidity that made "masterful administration" of their course impossible. The Muslim League was triumphant and celebrated the occasion by illuminating their houses and business premises in the evening. Crowds began to roam about the streets shouting League slogans and congratulating Khizar on having displayed so much wisdom and good sense. Khizar, the toady, the procurer and butcher was transformed overnight into a dear brother. Young boys stopped passers-by on the road and asked them, "Have you heard the latest? Khizar is our brother!" On March 3, the Governor summoned Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, the leader of the Muslim League Party in the Legislature, and asked him to form a Government. Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan agreed and promised to give the names of his Ministers on the following day.

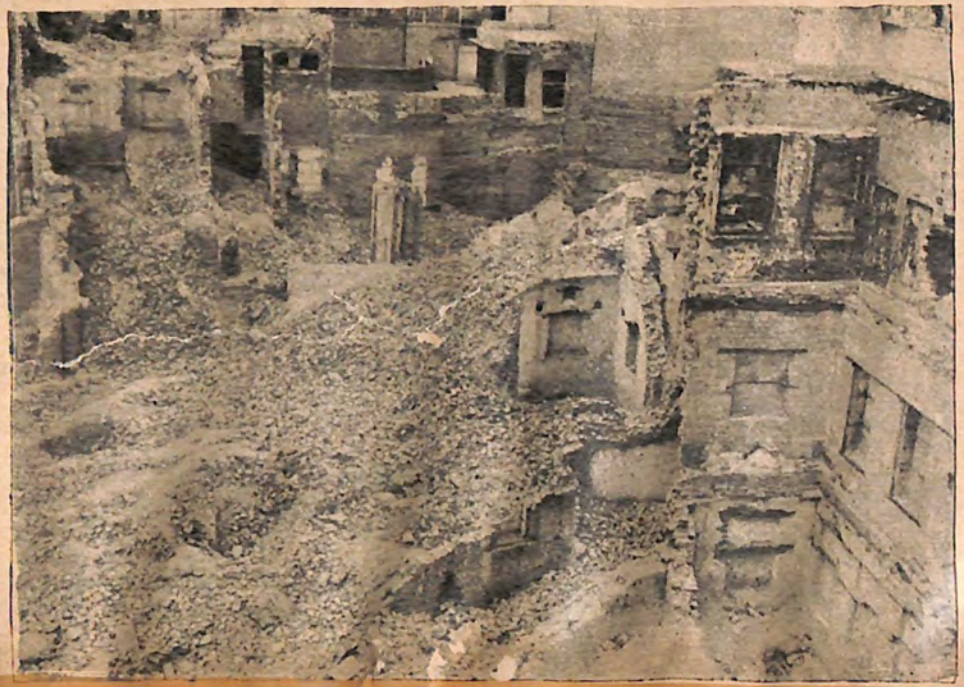
A wave of resentment spread through the Congress and Panthic Parties. All the fears engendered by the events of Calcutta and Noakhali seemed about to be realized. The Muslim League could not form a Ministry without their co-operation and they determined to withhold it. They held a joint meeting in the Assembly Chamber and discussed the situation. A large crowd of Muslims who had collected outside kept up a continuous barrage of provocative Muslim League slogans. They said that they would take Pakistan by force, if necessary. As soon as the meeting was over Master Tara Singh and a number of Sikh and Congress leaders came out of the Assembly Chamber. Master Tara Singh stood on the stairs facing the hostile Muslim crowd and taking out his *kirpan* flourished it in front of him. He shouted, "*Kat ke deynge apni jan maggar nahin deynge Pakistan*" ("We shall kill ourselves and give you our lives but will never concede Pakistan"). This somewhat childish prank was about to develop into a most

ugly incident when the police intervened and dispersed the crowd. The same evening non-Muslims held a mammoth meeting in the grounds of Kapurthala House and the leaders gave vent to their pent-up anger against the Muslim League attitude. For six weeks they had remained silent spectators of the Muslim League campaign but Khizar's resignation and the prospect of a Muslim League Government put too great a strain on their patience. Master Tara Singh had, on February 28, given a Press interview to a representative of the *New York Times* and had remarked, "I do not see how we can avoid civil war. There can be no settlement if the Muslims want to rule the Punjab. We cannot trust the Muslims under any circumstances. The Sikhs had the ability to keep the Muslims out of Eastern Punjab but why should we stop there. We shall drive them out of the Punjab entirely. The Sikhs have started to reorganize their own private volunteer army in response to the Muslim League month-old agitation against the Coalition Ministry of the Punjab in which the Sikhs are represented." In his speech on March 3, in the grounds of Kapurthala House, he was even more categorical.

"O Hindus and Sikhs! Be ready for self-destruction like the Japanese and the Nazis. Our motherland is calling for blood and we shall satiate the thirst of our mother with blood. By crushing Moghulistan we shall trample Pakistan. I have been feeling for many a day now that mischief has been brewing in the province and for that reason I started reorganizing the Akali Party. If we can snatch the Government from the Britishers no one can stop us from snatching the Government from the Muslims. We have in our hold the legs and the limbs of the Muslim League and we shall break them. Disperse from here on the solemn affirmation that we shall not allow the League to exist. The world has always been ruled by minorities. The Muslims snatched the kingdom from the Hindus, and the Sikhs grabbed it from the hands of the Muslims, and the Sikhs ruled over the Muslims with their might and the Sikhs shall even now rule over them. We shall rule over them and will get the Government, fighting. I have sounded the bugle. Finish the Muslim League."

Giani Kartar Singh reminded his audience that the yellow flag of the Sikhs used to fly on the Fort at Lahore and hoped that the same flag would fly again. The Congress speakers were not violent but the audience could not overlook the fact that they spoke from the same platform.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY



Kasera Bazar, Lahore, a purely Hindu locality

These pompous and boastful utterances were mere empty threats. The Akal Fauj of Master Tara Singh existed only in his imagination and the preparedness of the Sikhs was nothing more than a piece of wishful thinking. The folly of these provocative speeches was abundantly demonstrated by the manner in which the non-Muslims and more particularly the Sikhs suffered in the March riots. They found themselves without any means of self-defence and perished in thousands.

On the following morning the non-Muslim students of Lahore were to hold a meeting in the Gol Bagh.* The meeting was banned and did not take place. Some of the students, however, collected in the square in front of the Government College and tried to organize a *hartal*. The Principal, Mr. Bukhari, called the police and the peaceful crowd was subjected to indiscriminate firing by the police. A number of persons were killed. Another procession of non-Muslim students later in the afternoon was attacked by the Muslim National Guards. This was the prelude to the stabbing of non-Muslims in various parts of the city. Rioting now started in right earnest and a number of Hindu shops in Sua Bazaar and Chowk Rang Mahal were set on fire. By the evening thirty-seven cases of non-Muslim casualties were reported in the Mayo Hospital.

The Governor abandoned the negotiations with the Muslim League leader and took over the administration of the province under section 93 of the Government of India Act. This did not improve the situation and in no way helped to check the terror which had been let loose by the Muslims upon the city of Lahore. Rioting at the same time broke out in the cities of Amritsar, Rawalpindi and Multan and the rural areas of Rawalpindi, Multan, Jhelum and Attock Districts. The similarity of the pattern followed by the Muslim rioters in all these places indicated a preconceived and well-developed plan.

On March 5, rioting had spread to almost all parts of the city of Lahore. Hindus and Sikhs were stabbed in Gumti Bazaar, Kinari Bazaar, Kasera Bazaar and Rang Mahal. The police pickets suddenly disappeared from these localities. Shops were looted and burnt. A Muslim mob assisted by National Guards arrived in Rang Mahal and began to loot the shops. The non-Muslim residents offered resistance. Thereupon a Muslim Sub-Inspector with a police party arrived on the scene and opened fire

* The Gol Bagh is situated near the District Courts and opposite the Government College.

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upon the non-Muslim defenders. A Hindu young man had the temerity to make a protest to the Sub-Inspector and, on this, the Sub-Inspector overpowered him and shot him dead. Instances of this type were reported from several localities of Lahore. A number of houses and shops in different parts of the city, all owned or occupied by non-Muslims, were destroyed by fire. There was hardly any traffic on the Mall. Schools were closed down and it became unsafe for children to venture out even in the middle of the day. Tension and anxiety increased on all sides, though the first fury of the rioting died down after three or four days, and, on March 11, there was quiet in the city although the streets were completely deserted and all shops were shut. On March 14, Mr. Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh paid a visit to Lahore and were horrified to see the damage done by the hooligans.

Riots began in Amritsar almost simultaneously. On March 6 the train from Batala was stopped by a Muslim mob at Sharifpura, a suburb of Amritsar. Several Hindu and Sikh passengers were killed and when the train reached Amritsar, pools of blood were seen in many compartments. The women's compartment contained a number of dead bodies. A Hindu Magistrate posted at Amritsar had gone to Lahore for a day's holiday. He hurried back to duty, and, outside the railway station, he saw a crowd of frightened and excited men rushing from the direction of the city. They were shouting that firing had begun. Picking his way with difficulty through this mob he reached home and rang up the District Magistrate for instructions. To his astonishment, the District Magistrate ordered him to go to the hospital and record the statements of injured persons. At the hospital he saw heads almost severed from bodies, bellies ripped open with intestines protruding from the wounds, arms and legs chopped off and all kinds of horrible injuries. Many of the patients could hardly speak and anything they said could not stay the holocaust proceeding in the city. On March 7, Amritsar was reported to be a veritable inferno. Fires were raging in different parts of the city. Non-Muslim shops in Hall Bazaar, Katra Jaimal Singh and the surrounding areas were destroyed or greatly damaged. By the next day 140 deaths had been recorded at the mortuary; the number of casualties treated in the two main hospitals was 275. The actual number of dead and wounded far exceeded these figures. Many dead bodies were consumed by the fire, others were buried under the debris of fallen buildings.

The effect of arson in a street in Amritsar

It appeared at first that the British Deputy Commissioner and the Police officers had lost their heads and did not possess the ability or the courage to deal with the situation. The District Magistrate displayed an amazing degree of indifference towards all calls for help, and the Muslim Deputy Superintendent of Police declined to risk the lives of his policemen and proceed to the city from where huge columns of fire and smoke could be seen rising, while the shrieks of the frenzied mob and their victims added to the confusion and horror of the scene. It was, however, soon clear that this indifference and lack of courage were due to a callous disregard of non-Muslim life and property, for it was observed that very few Muslims suffered during this preliminary phase of the disturbances. All factories, save one, owned by non-Muslims within the jurisdiction of 'D' Division Police Station, were burnt down. The Jawala Flour Mill alone stood intact and supplied food to the city. If this mill were destroyed the whole of Amritsar would starve. The Deputy Inspector-General of Police was persuaded to depute a guard of Hindu policemen for its protection. A day later the Hindu policemen were replaced by Muslims, apparently under the directions of the Muslim Deputy Superintendent of Police. When a Hindu Magistrate rang up the District Magistrate and asked him to call in the military and declare Martial Law, the latter merely swore and banged the telephone receiver down. The non-Muslim officers were placed in positions from which they could make no contribution towards efforts to restore peace. They were entrusted with routine duties of patrolling the Civil Lines and the suburbs. They were frequently sent out on a wild-goose chase to stop imaginary Sikh *jathas* said to be converging towards the town. Muslim Magistrates assisted by Muslim Police officials were in charge of the city and lent their support and connivance to the miscreants. The Muslim hooligans were well-organized mobs carrying their own ambulance arrangements. Doctors in white overalls and stretcher-bearers accompanied them on their raids. The Muslim League agitation of January and February had prepared them for this event and they had acquired a sense of cohesion and solidarity. On the other hand, weeks of quasi-peaceful processions, when no open conflict between the communities took place, had lulled the non-Muslims into a false sense of security, and when the Muslim assault began they were taken completely unawares. They suffered grievously both in life and in property.

The devastation caused by fire and the difficulties of leading a normal life during long curfew hours were aggravated by the breakdown of essential services. The scavenging staff disappeared, the water-pipes in many places were broken or cut, electric supply became uncertain. Heaps of night soil and dirt covered the streets from end to end. Broken wires, electric poles and mounds of rubble lying everywhere added to the gloom and desolation of the city. Only the rationing service continued to function throughout. The Rationing Controller * worked day and night and saw that every depot was well supplied with flour. Inside the city he distributed bags of flour to trusted residents, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, and gave them directions that they were to supply the needs of the entire street or block of houses.

The rioting continued for a whole week before it was brought under control.

In Multan, too, clashes began on March 5. The Hindu and Sikh students of the local schools and colleges took out a procession to protest against the shooting of peaceful students in Lahore. A mob of Muslims armed with *lathis*, daggers and spears and shouting "*Leyke rahenge Pakistan, Pakistan zindabad*" † attacked the procession near Bohar Gate and inflicted injuries on several students. Within a short time trouble spread to other parts of the city and Muslim hooligans ran about the streets murdering Sikhs and Hindus, looting their shops and houses and setting fire to them. This state of affairs continued for the space of three days. Of the first eight persons killed, seven were Sikhs. Thirty-eight injured persons were admitted into hospital on March 5. The victims had been attacked with swords, daggers or hatchets. Several houses and shops were on fire and Muslim crowds were reported to be obstructing the operations of the Fire Brigade.

A fanatical Muslim mob invaded the Shri Krishan Bhagwan Tuberculosis Hospital outside Delhi Gate and began to butcher the miserable patients in their beds. The Hindu compounder who tried to argue with the hooligans was immediately killed. Every sick man, woman or child in the hospital was done to death and then the hospital building was set on fire. Blocks of houses near the railway bridge, known as Serai Wan Wattan, were sprayed with petrol and set ablaze. About twenty-five houses owned by Hindus

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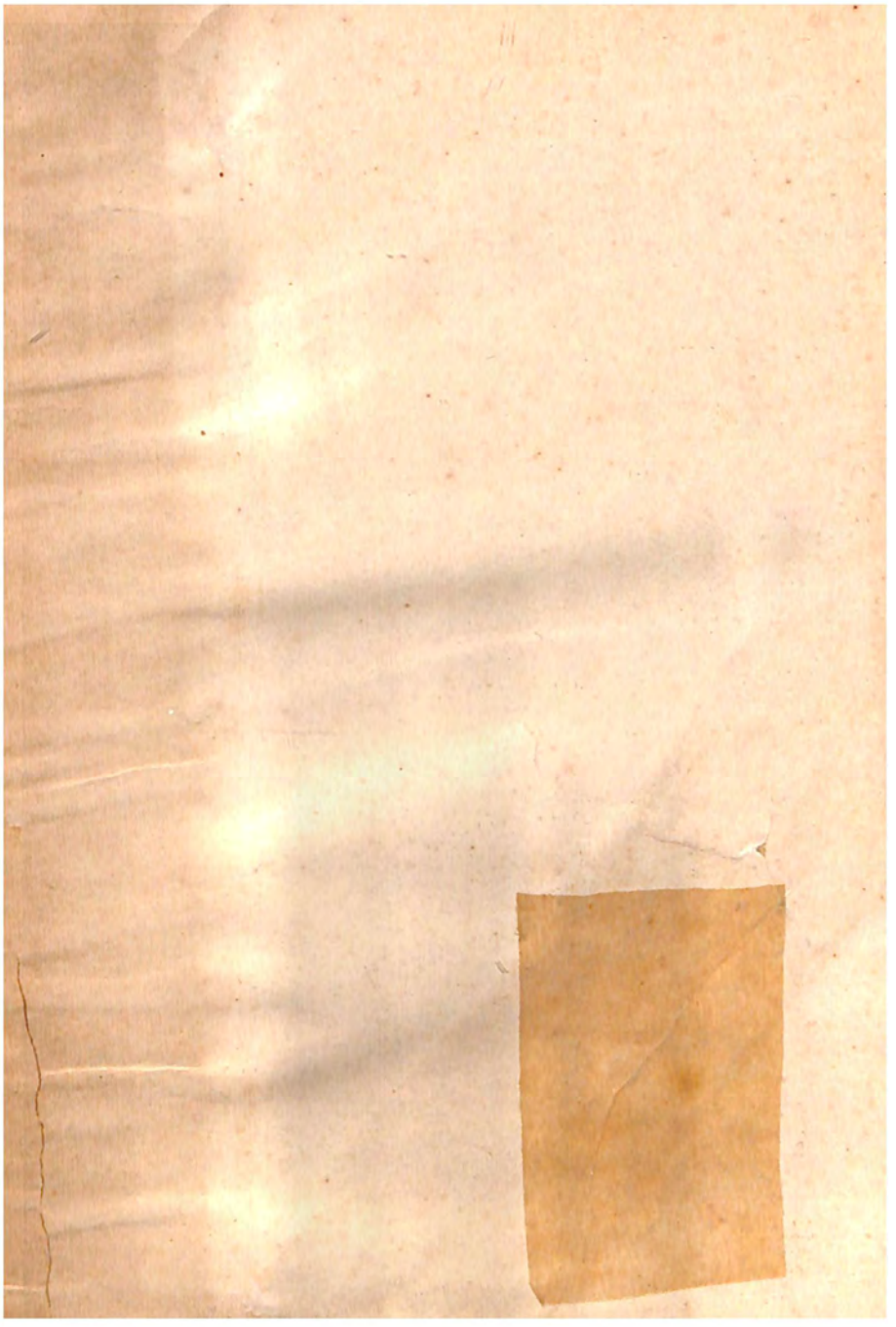
* Mr. R. D. Mathur.

† "We shall not rest till we get Pakistan. Long live Pakistan."



The house of Seth Kalyan Das at Multan after it was demolished by fire

on Circular Road were burnt down. All houses and shops on the road leading from the Town Hall to Kotla Tola Khan, the houses in Khuni Burj, the shops in Sabzi Mandi were looted and destroyed by fire. The palatial house of Seth Kalyan Das was attacked and burnt down. The owner came out to reason with the mob but he was cut to pieces in front of his door. Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, the well-known Congress leader, was at the time staying with Seth Kalyan Das. He was recognized and was immediately surrounded by a mob. A number of Muslim Leaguers took him to a house and offered to release him if he signed the Muslim League pledge. Dr. Kitchlew refused and tried to make his way to the railway station. He was attacked and beaten but was able to escape alive.

The temples and Gurdwaras in the city were looted and desecrated. Many of them were burnt down. The old Dharamsala of Bawa Sant Das, the Shivala in Serai Wan Wattan, the Jain temple outside Delhi Gate, the shrine of Baba Safra, Kultarianwali Dharamsala, the local Gaushala, were all reduced to ashes. The temple of Jog Maya and the Ram Tirath Temple were desecrated, the idols were smashed and thrown out. The devotees living on the premises were slaughtered. The Devpura Temple and Devta Khu were similarly attacked and the inmates done to death.

A number of young girls were kidnapped. An Army officer patrolling the town saw four non-Muslim girls being driven in a tonga. They cried to him for help and he was able to rescue them.

The police took no steps to quell these disturbances which were wholly one sided. At least one Sub-Inspector of Police was seen shooting at unoffending Hindus and Sikhs. An Army officer arrested him but he was released on the orders of the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police. The military finally brought the situation under control in the city of Multan on March 7, but, in the meantime, the rural areas were ablaze and looting and burning of villages started on a large scale. An Army officer while on patrol duty saw fires in the villages of Aliwala, Thulwala, Chak, Bhikwala, Kotwala, Kuruwala, Sukhanwala, Bhandewala, Godhawala, Isawala, Turger, Chandhar and Khujan. This continued for several days and it was not till a large Army force was sent out with instructions not to brook hooliganism at any cost that comparative peace was restored.

A number of other districts were involved. In the words of Mr. Akhtar Hussain, Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab,

"With the news of grave events radiating from Lahore, there has been bloodshed and burning in many districts and rural areas have paid the price levied by insensate fury as well as towns." The district of Rawalpindi was the worst affected area and the non-Muslims who were in a small minority in the rural areas perished in large numbers.

On the morning of March 6, a crowd of Muslims collected in Raja Bazaar, Rawalpindi, and began to raise the usual provocative slogans. Soon another crowd of non-Muslims faced them, shouting counter-slogans. A clash was averted but that night the Muslim residents of Ratta Amral, a Muslim majority area on the outskirts of Rawalpindi, attacked the Sikh and Hindu houses. The houses were set on fire and some of the inmates were mercilessly butchered. Many Sikhs were forcibly converted to Islam and their hair and beards were removed. There were clashes in the city also but there the communities were evenly balanced and the Muslims suffered as much as the non-Muslims. By the next morning large numbers of Muslims from the neighbouring villages had invaded the city and the Hindus and Sikhs were outnumbered. The British Deputy Commissioner was apathetic. Perhaps he did not possess the ability to cope with the extraordinary situation. The Muslim Additional District Magistrate openly connived at the misdeeds of the Muslim mobs and, when a senior Sikh Advocate asked him for police assistance, the Additional District Magistrate accused him of spreading false rumours and added that he was only endangering his own life. The next day a Muslim police constable tried to shoot this Sikh Advocate. Military pickets were posted in various parts of the city but they did nothing beyond standing and looking on as interested spectators of the looting and killing taking place within a few yards of them. They said they had no orders to leave their posts. For three days rioting went on in the city. Shots were continuously fired from the Jumma Mosque at Hindus and Sikhs residing in the locality. On March 7 or 8,* the President of the Cantonment Muslim League invited eleven Hindus and Sikhs to form a Peace Committee for re-establishing communal amity. The meeting was held in the house of the President which stands at a little distance from the main *abadi*. No sooner had the members of the Peace Committee collected there than Muslims began to arrive as if by

* The witnesses who related this incident were making their statements after several months and could not remember the exact date.

previous arrangement with the host. Seven of the eleven non-Muslim members were murdered at the spot. Another two who succeeded in escaping remained under medical treatment for a considerable time. The police refused to register the case. The son of one of the murdered persons was the stenographer of Mr. Scott, Deputy Inspector-General of Police. Mr. Scott ordered that the case should be registered but his order was not carried out for several days. It is scarcely necessary to add that the murderers were never brought to book.

Conditions in the rural areas of Rawalpindi beggar description. On March 6, 1947, meetings were held in the village mosques and the Muslims were told that the Jumma Mosque at Rawalpindi had been razed to the ground by Hindus and Sikhs and that the city streets were littered with Muslim corpses. The audience were exhorted to avenge these wrongs. The village population of the district of Rawalpindi has a large proportion of Muslim military pensioners possessing firearms and other weapons. These men, incited in this manner, rose up against the non-Muslim residents and attacked one village after another. The *modus operandi* was almost invariably the same. A mob of Muslims armed with all kinds of weapons, shouting slogans and beating drums, approached a selected village and surrounded it from all sides. A few non-Muslim residents were immediately killed to strike terror throughout the village. The rest were asked to embrace Islam. If they refused or showed reluctance a ruthless assault was launched upon non-Muslim life and property. Some members of the mob started looting and burning their houses and shops. Others searched out young and good-looking girls and carried them away. Not infrequently young women were molested and raped in the open, while all around them frenzied hooligans rushed about shouting, looting and setting fire to houses. Most of the non-Muslims would leave their houses and run to the local Gurdwara or a house affording some measure of protection or defence and there men, women and children, huddled together, would hear the noise of carnage, see the smoke rising from their burning homes and wait for the end. The horror of what they saw or heard made them insensible to pain or suffering. Some women would commit suicide or suffer death at the hands of their relations with stoic indifference, others would jump into a well or be burnt alive uttering hysterical cries. The men would come out and meet death in a desperate sally against the marauders.

Some villages were completely wiped out. Houses and shops were looted and then burnt down and demolished. Conversion saved the lives of many but not their property. Refusal to accept Islam brought complete annihilation. The men were shot or put to the sword. In some cases small children were thrown in cauldrons of boiling oil. In one village men and women who refused to embrace Islam were collected together and after a ring of brambles and firewood had been placed around them they were burnt alive. A woman threw her four-month old baby to save it from burning. The infant was impaled upon a spear and thrown back into the fire. In Murree nearly a hundred houses belonging to non-Muslims were systematically marked and burnt down.

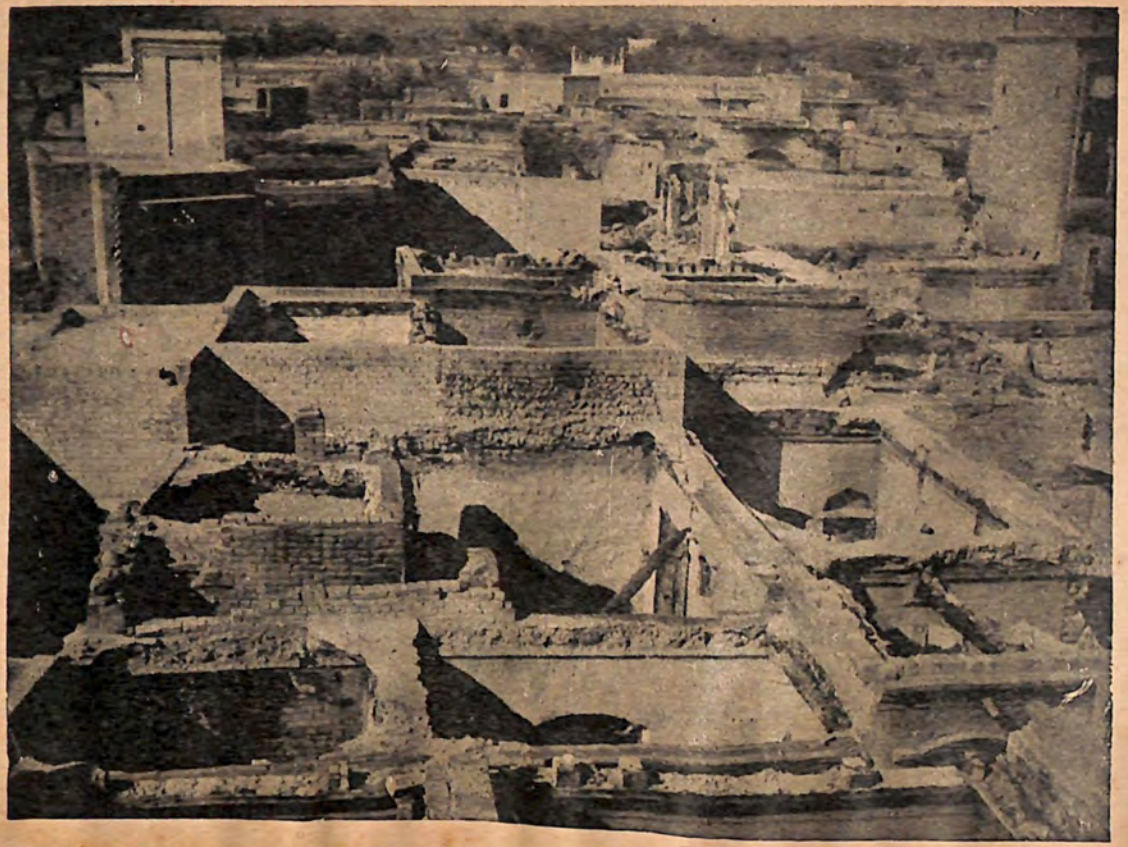
In as many as 110 villages, attacks of this nature were made by Muslim mobs. A conservative estimate, based on the evidence of over two hundred witnesses, places the number of persons killed at two thousand and five hundred, the number of persons forcibly converted at more than three thousand and the number of girls kidnapped at two hundred.*

It is impossible to give a detailed account of these happenings. We content ourselves by giving a few representative instances.†

The Muslim League leaders of Kahuta sent out messages to the Muslims of the neighbouring villages inviting them to collect at Kahuta on March 7, and take part in a flag-hoisting ceremony. A huge gathering was held in the local mosque but what transpired at this meeting remained secret. Early on the following morning many thousands of armed Muslims arrived in Kahuta. The non-Muslims approached the Tehsildar and also invoked the help of the Sub-Inspector of Police. Telegrams were sent by the Lambardar but it transpired later that the Muslim Sub-Postmaster did not transmit them. By chance a detachment of a British Army unit, on patrol duty, arrived at Kahuta but they were sent back by the Tehsildar who assured them that there was no danger of any disturbance occuring. Within a short time of the detachment leaving the town, a determined attack was launched by the Muslims. The towers of the mosque and the hillocks surrounding the town were occupied by gunmen and a volley of shots was fired to frighten away the non-Muslims. Crowds then ran into the town, sprinkled

* These figures relate to the rural areas only and do not include the casulties of a number of smaller villages where disturbances are reported to have occurred but from where no witnesses were examined. See also page 112 for the official figures.

† See also the table given in Appendix II.



The destruction of Bewal, District Rawalpindi

petrol on houses and set them on fire. Large quantities of movables were removed and carried away on camels, donkeys, mules and motor lorries. The annual examinations were being held in the Government Girls' School. The Assistant District Inspectress asked the Sub-Inspector of Police to depute two policemen to guard the school. This request was refused and a little later the school was attacked by a mob of Muslims. The Tehsildar himself was seen shooting at non-Muslims with his gun while his orderly carried his box of cartridges. The Hindus and Sikhs of the village sought refuge in the Gurdwara and remained in a state of siege for twenty-seven hours without food, water or sanitary arrangements. Shots fired at the Gurdwara caused the death of a few non-Muslims. On the afternoon of March 9, the military arrived and evacuated the non-Muslims to the Civil Rest House from where they were escorted to safety. They were, however, compelled to leave all their movable and immovable property behind.

Bewal was a village of mixed population, the Sikhs numbering about four hundred. On the morning of March 10, some of the Sikh residents tried to travel to Gujar Khan but the Muslim lorry driver refused to carry them on the ground that the Sub-Inspector of Police had forbidden the issue of lorry tickets to Sikhs. The same afternoon a large crowd of Muslims shouting "*Ya Ali, Ya Ali,*" to the beating of drums, was seen approaching. The non-Muslim villagers entrenched themselves in two improvised shelters. At 11 p.m. the raiders set fire to a number of non-Muslim houses on the outskirts of the village. The siege of the village continued throughout the night, and, on the morning of March 11, fresh gangs of raiders arrived. The assault on the non-Muslim sanctuaries was now opened. Houses around the Gurdwara, where many of the Sikh residents had taken shelter, were set on fire. The fire spread to the Gurdwara and those inside were almost all burnt alive. The house of a retired Extra Assistant Commissioner, in which the rest of the non-Muslims had collected, was also attacked in a similar manner. Very few of the four hundred Sikh residents escaped alive. Many women and girls saved their honour by self-immolation. They collected their beddings and cots in a heap and when the heap caught fire they jumped on to it, raising cries of "*Sat Sri Akal.*" The raiders behaved in a most cruel manner and subjected the few men whom they captured to torture. The eyes of Mukand Singh, one of the residents, were removed from their sockets and he was dragged by the legs till he died.

Doberan had a population of seventeen hundred of whom a very large majority were Sikhs. On the morning of March 10, swarms of armed raiders from the neighbouring villages began to collect in front of Doberan. The non-Muslim residents sought shelter in the local Gurdwara. The raiders began to loot the houses thus deserted and set fire to them. The Sikhs had a few firearms and fought the raiders from the Gurdwara. They, however, suffered heavily and soon ran out of ammunition. The raiders asked them to surrender their arms and promised not to molest them. About three hundred of them came out and they were placed in the house of one Barkat Singh. During the night the roof was ripped open, kerosene oil was poured in, and those inside were burnt alive. In the morning the doors of the Gurdwara were broken open. The remaining Sikhs dashed out sword in hand and died fighting the raiders. Very few escaped from this hideous massacre. The total loss of life in this village is estimated at 506.

In Qazian, a village five miles from Gujar Khan, the atmosphere on the morning of March 7 was tense. Qazi Ghulam Hussain, a retired Government official, assured the Sikh residents that there was no cause for alarm and that they were perfectly safe in his village. On the morning of March 9, a large crowd of Muslims began to assemble near the village *abadi* on the pretence of holding a *kabaddi* match. A few hours later this crowd encircled the village. The Muslims advanced with the beat of drums and began setting fire to the Sikh houses and Gurdwara. Shots were fired at the raiders and they retreated. On the following morning they came back, reinforced, in larger numbers. Qazi Ghulam Hussain asked the Sikhs to come to his house for the night with their valuables. A number of Sikhs accepted this invitation and went there with their women and children. At 4 p.m. the raiders appeared in front of Qazi Ghulam Hussain's house and the Qazi then asked his guests to surrender their arms and leave his house. When the unarmed Sikhs emerged from the house they were set upon by the raiders and murdered. Three young girls were raped in public. Sant Singh, a Sikh resident, had on the previous day killed one of the Muslim raiders and had then hidden himself. He was sent for by Qazi Ghulam Hussain and, while he was talking to him, a rope was flung round his neck and he was dragged to a firewood stall where he and his son were hacked to bits and then burnt. The survivors were evacuated to Gujar Khan by military lorries on the night of the 11th.

The interior of the Sikh Gurdwara at Dubheran after the riots

Nara village is situated in a hilly tract. It had a majority of Sikhs but the neighbouring villages were all predominantly Muslim. At about 4 p.m. on March 9, Muslim mobs were seen approaching the village and, late at night, the village was attacked and the outlying houses were set on fire. One of the residents, Makhan Singh and his wife and daughter were burnt alive in their house. The looting and burning continued on the following day. Some of the raiders had firearms and they appeared to be ex-military men. On March 11 the number of raiders swelled to several thousands and the village was encircled. As the ring narrowed the Sikh residents offered a stubborn resistance. The raiders seized a number of women and children and threw them into the blaze of a burning house. A few women committed suicide by jumping into a well. Over a hundred men were killed ; about fifty were forcibly converted to Islam. The survivors were evacuated to Gujar Khan.

Moghal was a Muslim majority village with a population of about two hundred Sikhs. On the midnight of March 9, the village was attacked by a large mob of Muslims. A number of Sikh houses were set on fire. The Sikhs collected themselves in the Gurdwara and, with the two rifles which they possessed, returned the fire of the raiders. The fight continued till the evening of March 10 and there was loss of life on both sides. Then a Muslim ringleader, Qazim Khan of Dadochha, swore by the Quran that the Muslims had no wish to do injury to men of such courage, and undertook not to molest the Sikhs if they came out unarmed. Sikhs had exhausted their ammunition and had no choice left but to accept Qazim Khan's terms. When they came out of the Gurdwara the rioters fell upon them and hacked them to pieces.

At Dhamali, a village in Tehsil Kahuta, a mob of over a thousand raiders arrived on the evening of March 9. There was exchange of fire and the raiders retreated. The next day, a bigger crowd appeared but this also retreated after an exchange of fire. On March 12 a crowd of several thousands arrived and began to set fire to the village. A Hindu resident of the village offered terms of peace and the raiders demanded fourteen thousand rupees for the safety of the village. The money was paid and the raiders left. The next day (March 13) the raiders again appeared in the afternoon. The non-Muslim residents, now desperate, ran out with whatever weapons they had and attacked the raiders. Very few of them, however, escaped and it is estimated

that not less than five hundred non-Muslims of the village were killed. When Dhamali lay in ruins and almost the entire non-Muslim population had been decimated, military lorries arrived to render assistance to the Hindus and Sikhs. It was then too late.

Almost every village in the Rawalpindi District where non-Muslims lived was attacked and plundered in this manner and Hindus and Sikhs were murdered and subjected to indescribable barbarities. In Thoha Khalsa some Sikh women were thrown into a well, others jumped in of their own free will to save themselves from being raped. A mob of several thousand Muslims raided Harilal, the birth-place of the Akali leader Master Tara Singh. Master Tara Singh's house was razed to the ground and his uncle, Gokal Singh, was killed. Kuri Dalal and Dehra Khalsa were looted and burnt. In Kallar the residents resisted the raiders for a time stubbornly, but the village was eventually looted and burnt, and large numbers of residents murdered.

This wholesale massacre and plunder in Rawalpindi District ceased in the middle of March and there was comparative peace for several months. The Muslms had achieved a decisive victory in the opening battle of the war for Pakistan. Mr. Williams, Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, in a note written on July 26, 1947, gave the comparative figures of casualties as follows:

Number of persons killed

Non-Muslims	2,263
Muslims	38

Number of persons injured

Non-Muslims	234
Muslims	126

These figures, however, nowhere approach accuracy as "owing to the widespread nature of disturbances and breakdown of normal administrative machinery" more accurate statistics could not be prepared. The information given was collected from the number of cases registered with the police. "They do not include losses inflicted where whole families were wiped out and no claims were made." The non-Muslim population of West Punjab feared that these incidents were merely a foretaste of what awaited them in the future State of Pakistan. The Chief Secretary of the Punjab recorded, "It is safe to say that feelings between them were never so strained or chances of their coming together ever so remote.

Invisibly but definitely all non-Muslims have been drawn together and there has been a manifest stiffening in their resolve neither to collaborate with the Muslims nor suffer their domination. . . . The prospect is not improved by the brutality of some of the acts committed by the majority community (Muslims) in the areas most affected." On April 2, Hindu and Sikh leaders made a demand for the partition of the Punjab and asked Mr. Nehru to exercise his influence in this direction.

Lord Wavell's pro-League attitude and his clumsy handling of the political situation forced the British Government to recall him and send out Lord Mountbatten in his place. The demand for the partition of the Punjab was placed before the new Viceroy. On April 15, he was able to persuade Mr. Jinnah to join Gandhiji in issuing a joint appeal for peace. This appeal was received well in the foreign Press and the London *Times* observed that it marked "an important change in the outlook of the Muslim League." It did not, however, improve the situation in India one whit. Many thought that Mr. Jinnah had been persuaded into issuing this appeal against his wishes and that he was, at heart, glad at the course of events in the Punjab. Muslim preparations for a large-scale offensive continued. The Chief Secretary reported in April 1947 that an additional 5,630 National Guards had been recruited. "In the Eastern Punjab active training has been confined mainly to Simla, Ambala Cantonment and Panipat where Guards have bee exercising secretly in *lathi* fighting." He estimated that the number of Muslim League National Guards was about thirty-nine thousand.

Three days before this appeal was issued (on April 12) there was a recrudescence of trouble in Amritsar, after a respite of nearly five weeks. Fifteen men were killed and thirty-two injured. Fourteen places, including two factories in Qila Bhangian, three shops in Kucha Chhappar Wala and eight houses in Kucha Saroop Singh were entirely gutted. The fire brigade recovered some pieces of cloth soaked in kerosene oil and a broken bottle of kerosene oil from in front of several houses. From now onwards there was no peace in Amritsar or Lahore. Arson and stabbing cases became a normal state of affairs and ceased to arouse surprise. The residents began to pursue their usual avocations regularly. But there was no peace of mind, no feeling of security ; a lurking fear haunted the men whether they were at home or outside. A man walking along the Mall would suddenly turn round to make sure that he

was not about to be stabbed in the back. People stopped going out to lonely places or paying friendly calls after dark. The non-Muslims took special precautions for safeguarding their personal property. In the narrow lanes of the city of Lahore, barred iron gates were put up and these were closed at sundown. Women did not go out to shop unless accompanied by male members of their family. Underneath the apparently normal life a continuous fear and tension gnawed at the hearts of men, and the universal opinion was that worse things were yet to happen.

On May 9, serious trouble again broke out in Amritsar. On the following day a party of twelve Sikhs was returning to the city after cremating the body of a child. They were waylaid by a gang of armed Muslims who beat them and then, after sprinkling petrol upon them, set fire to the bodies. Seven of the party died at the spot while the remaining five sustained severe wounds and burns. Other incidents followed and the Chief Secretary in his official report said, "Some of the acts committed (by the Muslims) were shocking in their stark brutality, and an attack on a funeral party of a child in which six Sikhs and one Hindu were killed has added to an already over-long list of Muslim atrocities." * When the Muslim *badmashes* of Amritsar noticed that trouble had not simultaneously broken out at Lahore they sent some glass bangles to that city. The present was intended to bring home to the Lahore Muslims their cowardice and effeminacy in not vindicating the honour of Islam. Trouble at once broke out in Lahore and, on May 14, there were several stabbing cases in different parts of the city. Nine persons were killed and twenty injured. A Muslim mob, armed with hatchets, swords and lathis, invaded the Shahalmi Gate area and set fire to a shop. Early the following morning reports of gunshots could be heard from the direction of Mochi Gate.

During the night an exchange of brickbats and bottles containing explosive material had taken place and a number of fires were started. "Delirious noisy slogans and war cries rent the sky." † Bitter fighting continued throughout the night. People stood on the roofs of their houses shouting and hurling down brickbats, crude country-made incendiary bombs and fire-balls. On May 16, the intensity and bitterness of the conflict achieved a new record. The whole of the city seemed to be ablaze with a

* The Chief Secretary, it must be remembered, was a Muslim officer of the Indian Civil Service (Mr. Akhtar Hussain).
† *Civil and Military Gazette*, May 16, 1947.

dozen mighty fires raging in different localities. The stabbing went on unabated. This state of affairs continued for several days. Entire streets and rows of houses were consumed by fire and reduced to a heap of rubble and ashes. The bazaar inside Shahalmi Gate, once the main centre of the provisions trade, was reduced to a complete wreck. Mounds of hot smouldering building material made the road impassable. The demolition of burnt or half-burnt houses to prevent the spread of fire added to the desolation. The bazaar inside Akbari Gate was a hot glowing oven. Every shop and house had been destroyed in the non-Muslim blocks and bare blackened walls lined the street. Hindus and Sikhs began to leave the city and, each day, during the hours when curfew was suspended, long lines of these unfortunate people, smitten by the scourge of religious frenzy, could be seen moving from all gates of the inner city and converging towards the railway station. They carried beddings on their heads, small bundles in their hands; the women carried young children and bundles of clothes hurriedly tied up in a duster or old *dopatta*. They had left the major portion of their belongings to perish or to be looted. They had abandoned their houses and shops to the future State of Pakistan. Their faces grim with the memory of what they had seen, their eyes full of a vague fear of the future, their minds darkened by the shadow that hung over their heads, their one conscious thought was 'flight,' though the end of the journey was not in sight. And so these pitiable processions of mute humanity continued to move day after day in an ever-increasing volume. From Multan, Gujranwala, Jhelum and Rawalpindi people were moving eastward in batches of dozens and scores. Soon this exodus became the rout of a helpless and defeated people.

The Muslim police and some of the Muslim Magistrates made a very important contribution to these destructive operations. The Hindu and Sikh police personnel were kept on routine duty in the Police Lines while the Muslim constables and officers were entrusted with the duty of maintaining peace and enforcing the curfew orders. The curfew was seen to work solely for the benefit of the Muslims. During curfew hours Muslims were seen to move about freely. A party of them would enter a Hindu shop or house and set fire to it with the help of petrol or fire-balls.*

* The fire-ball or fire-*gola*, as it came to be known, was a new invention manufactured during the riots. It consisted of a large roll of string and a cloth soaked in coal-tar and petrol. It could remain alight for a considerable time and proved to be a very efficient weapon for spreading fire.

When the owners rushed out to extinguish the fire they were arrested or shot for violating the curfew orders. If there were danger of the fire spreading to a Muslim building, a Muslim group would arrive and, with the help of the police and the fire brigade, control the fire. This procedure was adopted on a large scale in the Mozang area. Here the houses in the front line belonging to the non-Muslims were burnt down while scarcely a single Muslim house was damaged. The activities of a Muslim Magistrate became notorious in Lahore. He was personally responsible for the death of Mr. Sethi, a Sub-Divisional Officer of the Electricity Department, who came out at night to attend to his official duties. Mr. Sethi had a curfew pass but the Muslim Magistrate ordered him to be arrested and within a few minutes he was shot. When a privately owned fire brigade came to attend to a fire in a block of Hindu houses, the water-hose was cut under the orders of the same Muslim Magistrate. He remarked that the Municipal Fire Brigade was the only one entitled to attend to these fires.

It was about this time (May 1947) that the non-Muslims in Lahore and Amritsar began to hit back. Rumours went round that the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh had taken upon themselves the duty of defending Hindu life and property. There were cases of Muslims being stabbed both in Lahore and in Amritsar. The results achieved by the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh were, however, grossly exaggerated. The Hindus frequently boasted that they had not lacked courage in striking back. The Sikhs also bragged about what they had accomplished. There can be very little doubt, however, that in Lahore the Hindu and Sikh casualties far exceeded those of the Muslims, while the Muslim loss in property was almost negligible. In Amritsar it was reported that the score was about even * though, there also, the Hindu loss in property was several times the Muslim loss.

In the meantime discussions and negotiations between the various political leaders and the Viceroy were proceeding. The Congress was anxious to avoid a partition of the country and was prepared to make many concessions in order to retain the integral unity of India. Mr. Jinnah, on the other hand, was insistent on his demand for Pakistan. The non-Muslims of the Punjab wanted a partition of the province if a separate Muslim State were set up.

* In the month of May a Hindu lawyer paid a visit to a Muslim Judge of the High Court and during the course of this visit a telephone message was received from Amritsar. The Muslim Judge said laughingly that the score in Amritsar was even and that the Muslims had not done so badly.

They said it would be impossible for them to live in Pakistan and pointed out that the events in the Muslim majority areas of West Punjab had amply demonstrated the utter futility of expecting the Muslims to safeguard their life and property or treat them with justice. The eastern districts had a predominantly non-Muslim population and there was no justification for including them in the Muslim State of Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah twisted this argument in his own favour and urged the immediate necessity of dividing the country into Muslim majority and Hindu majority areas, each independent of the other. This, he maintained, was the only solution and the only way of putting an end to the fratricidal war. The inexorable logic of separatism and the two-nation theory forced Mr. Jinnah to accept the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. "The moth-eaten and truncated Pakistan" which he had spurned a few years previously was now the only choice before him. But he was adamant and unequivocally declared that he must have a separate independent Muslim State and a Muslim homeland. Once, during the discussions, when the unwisdom of cutting up the country and setting up two widely separated and attenuated States of Pakistan was pointed out to him he picked up a box of matches and, striking a dramatic pose, exclaimed with considerable heat: "Even if I get *so* much territory for a separate State of Pakistan I shall insist on partition." Further argument was useless. Months of anxiety and tension had weakened the resisting power of the Congress leaders. They had been struggling with the Muslim League both inside the Government and outside. The policy of the Muslim League members of the Interim Government had been one of avowed obstruction. They maintained that they had entered office merely to fight for Pakistan. They were able to defeat almost every progressive measure which the Congress members were desirous of adopting. The Interim Government had no unity or cohesion and the different departments of administration frequently pulled in different directions. All over the country unrest and lawlessness were spreading and, in the Punjab, conditions bordering on utter anarchy prevailed. Mr. Nehru and his colleagues felt tired and helpless. Frustration and chaos stared them in the face. Years of suffering and hard labour had brought them to a blind alley and the only alternatives were ignominious retreat or a way out by the acceptance of partition. They agreed to partition. They withdrew their opposition to the establishment of a separate independent State carved out of a united India. They, however, insisted

that the demand of the Sikhs for the partition of the Punjab and of the West Bengal Hindus for the partition of Bengal must be conceded by Mr. Jinnah. Lord Mountbatten saw the justness of this demand and, in this matter, gave his full support to the Congress and Sikh leaders. The Punjab and Bengal were to be divided; the district of Sylhet was to be separated from Assam and joined to East Bengal. The boundaries would be demarcated by two Boundary Commissions specially set up for this purpose.

The Mountbatten Plan of June 3, 1947, was thus drawn up and agreed to by the various party leaders. This was the first occasion on which the different warring elements in the country had attained some measure of unanimity, and it was hoped that with the implementation of this scheme, sanity would return to the land and constructive action take the place of disorder and despair. It is not necessary to discuss the Mountbatten Plan and its implications or the difficulties and dangers inherent in the mode of partition proposed. The Boundary Commissions and their terms of reference were subjected to bitter criticism in many quarters. It was said that the whole thing was a complete farce and only silly people could expect a fair and just decision from a tribunal whose Chairman did not attend a single hearing, though it was he and he alone in whose hands rested the ultimate decision.* There was, however, no other way in which this matter could be disposed of as expeditiously or with greater satisfaction to all concerned. Time was a vital consideration. Conditions in the Punjab showed little improvement, the attitude of the Muslim League was hardening and the British Government had agreed to hand over power on August 15, 1947. Everything had to be rushed through at break-neck speed, for it was hoped that, with the transference of power and the establishment of Pakistan, the feeling of frustration among the Muslim masses would disappear and their anger would be appeased. The Congress leaders did not envisage the complete collapse of the administrative machinery and the stampede that followed the attainment of independence. Attacks by Muslims in West Punjab were followed by counter-attacks by Sikhs and Hindus in East Punjab. Reprisal followed retaliation till the whole province was one seething cauldron of hate and bestial passions. The poison infected the unlettered and ignorant masses as well as the educated

* Sir Cyril Radcliffe was the Chairman of both the Boundary Commissions. He did not attend the hearings personally but verbatim reports of the proceedings were sent him every day by air. After the hearings were concluded he held discussions with the members of the Commissions and then communicated his decision or Award to the Viceroy.

middle classes; it spread to the officials upon whom rested the duty of maintaining law and order, it corrupted the police and the army who were entrusted with the safety and security of the citizens; it antagonized friends and neighbours till they turned upon each other with murderous frenzy. Muslims and non-Muslims vied with each other in degrading themselves to the lowest level of barbarity. What had been happening in West Punjab since March began to happen in East Punjab in August and the grim sport of murder and rapine was played on both sides with equal ferocity. But while the Government of India and the East Punjab Government mobilized all their resources to quell the disturbances, the West Punjab Government gave encouragement to the rowdy elements by many official and unofficiall acts. The first of these was the release of all Muslims who had been detained under the Punjab Public Safety Act or who had been convicted of crimes committed during communal riots. Even persons who had been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment on charges of murder and other acts of violence were released. The restriction on the carrying of swords was removed the day after Pakistan was established. Muslims were encouraged to carry swords and District Magistrates were instructed to grant arms licences freely to Muslims. *

The following pages contain a brief account of the main incidents in the various districts of West Punjab during August and the following months. Considerations of space and time make it impossible to give full and complete details of the atrocities committed by the Muslims or the suffering to which the non-Muslims were subjected. An attempt has, however, been made to give a true overall picture of these happenings. The reader will notice many important omissions but it is hoped that he will not find false or exaggerated stories. Every effort has been made to verify and check the correctness of the narrative, and drab understatement has been preferred to picturesque probability. Allowance had frequently to be made for the angry mood of the refugees, their tendency to exaggerate their suffering and invite sympathy by magnifying the extent of their losses. It is, however, believed that the account given in these pages is as near the truth as is possible in any historical narrative.

* Many months later when Muslims had been completely evacuated the East Punjab Government also issued similar instructions. These instructions were intended to check the border disturbances which were assuming serious proportions.

Lahore District

Lord Louis Mountbatten paid a visit to Lahore on July 22, 1947, and as a measure of caution or anticipation directed the shadow Government of East Punjab to move their headquarters to Simla. He, at the same time, gave assurance to the residents of Lahore that there was no finality about this move; Simla was, in any case, the summer capital of the Punjab and if Lahore eventually fell to the share of India the Government could move back without great inconvenience. In the meantime, a Boundary Force would be constituted and this would furnish adequate protection to the life and property of all communities. The Viceroy's declaration heartened the Muslims and they interpreted it as an indication that Lahore would be assigned to Pakistan. To the non-Muslims, it came as a hideous shock, as they had entertained high hopes of the Boundary Commission. According to the terms of reference, the boundary between the two countries was to be drawn on the basis of contiguous majority areas,* but other factors would also be taken into consideration. The non-Muslims naturally assumed that "other factors" meant financial, economic, strategic and social interests. Lahore had been built with non-Muslim capital and enterprise; 80 per cent of the property in Lahore was owned by non-Muslims and the social life of the city centred round the Hindus and Sikhs. The Ravi (if not the Chenab) was the only feasible boundary from the geographical and strategic point of view and the non-Muslims had been happy in the thought that the claim of Pakistan based merely on census figures was effete and untenable. The Viceroy's order directing a move to Simla shattered these hopes and many non-Muslims felt that they would have to migrate to India in the immediate or distant future. There were others who believed that once Pakistan, as an independent State, were established and recognized, peaceful conditions would return, and members of all communities would be able to live and pursue their avocations undisturbed and unmolested. To them the proposal to constitute a Boundary Force came as a great relief, for they felt that the Army, at any rate, would not take sides and would enforce law and order with complete impartiality. These hopes, alas, did not find realization.

* This was a somewhat vague term as it did not specify what the unit of the area was to be: whether it was to be a district, a tehsil, a zail or a village. Broadly speaking, it was intended that Muslim majority areas (excluding islands) should be assigned to Pakistan and the Hindu majority areas to India.

Shahalmi Gate, Lahore, after the fire and rioting in June

On August 8, some members of the Boundary Commission came back to Lahore after having held discussion with Sir Cyril Radcliffe in Simla. The next day, all over Lahore, posters purporting to have been issued by some Muslim Associations were put up. They proclaimed that if Lahore were awarded to India the Muslims of Lahore would not accept the Award of the Boundary Commission and would retain the town by force. On the nights of August 10 and 11, meetings were held in various mosques in the city and Muslims were called upon to make a ruthless attack on non-Muslims. On the 11th morning, it was generally known in Lahore that very soon it would become impossible for non-Muslims to live there. Some Muslims issued warnings to their non-Muslim friends and advised them to leave the town at once. Trouble began inside the city early on the morning of the 11th and on the following days spread to the whole town and to the Cantonment area.

Mohalla Kharasian was attacked by a mob of five hundred armed Muslims, led by National Guards and a Sub-Inspector of Police. Mohalla Sarin was attacked in the afternoon. Fires were started in various parts of the city and by the evening the residents of the Civil Lines saw a huge wall of flames and smoke standing against the sky. Throughout the day groups of Muslims armed with guns, pistols, spears, hatchets and *lathis* wandered about the streets, attacking non-Muslims and setting fire to shops and houses. Non-Muslims remained imprisoned in their houses. Some of them were dragged out by the hooligans and slaughtered. The official *communiqué* stated that there were twenty-five fires blazing in Lahore on that day, of which eight were of a serious nature. The Mayo Hospital received fifty-six dead bodies and one hundred and twenty injured persons. Thirty injured persons were received at Sir Ganga Ram Hospital. It is needless to say that only those persons who required medical treatment were carried to the hospital and the deaths of many others who were killed at the spot were not even reported. On the 12th, the Mayo Hospital received eighty-seven dead bodies and two hundred injured. Bharat Nagar and Mohan Lal Road were subjected to a bitter attack during the course of which many non-Muslims perished. Several houses in Bharat Nagar were looted and set fire to. Kalibari Mandir was looted and defiled. Non-Muslims were being killed all over the city, in the presence of police constables, and their property was being looted. At the railway station one hundred and twenty non-

Muslims were waiting to catch a train for Amritsar. On the platform were twenty-five Sindi Muslim constables guarding treasury chests. Some Muslims threw stones at the police constables and, according to a prearranged plan, the constables at once began to fire at the Hindus waiting for their train. Fifteen persons were killed and twelve wounded.

The Lahore Railway Station became a veritable death-trap between August 12 and August 18. The riots in the city compelled the non-Muslims to leave, and their only avenue of escape was the railway station, because journey by road was far more perilous. On the evening of August 11, the railway station was packed with passengers. The coolies dictated their own terms for carrying luggage and were able to get fantastic sums of money. There was a general state of tension and anxiety and when news came that the Sind Express, on its way to Lahore, had been attacked by Muslims, panic spread among the passengers. The Sind Express arrived soon afterwards, and the non-Muslim volunteers rushed forward to bring out the dead bodies from the various compartments. They found that men, women and children had been brutally murdered and were lying in pools of blood. The dead bodies were carried across several platforms and a hush fell upon the intending non-Muslim passengers who stood rooted to the ground and watched their luggage with vague and grim forebodings while all that was visible of the city of Lahore was a huge tower of smoke. Fortunately a Muslim refugee train arrived from Amritsar at this time and the Muslim volunteers became engaged in bringing out the Muslim passengers and their luggage. The passengers who left by the Frontier Mail were attacked near Wahga. The Bhatinda Express, however, reached its destination safely. The next day, it became impossible for non-Muslims even to reach the railway station. They were caught and massacred on the way. The Baluch Regiment took a very prominent part in this slaughter. On August 14 and 15, the railway station became a scene of wholesale carnage. According to one witness there was a continuous rain of bullets at the railway station. The military shot and plundered non-Muslims freely. The passengers from a refugee train from Sacha Sauda came out to get drinking water, and thirteen of them were shot dead. A Hindu passenger was pushed into the compartment of a moving train and found himself surrounded by Baluchis. He was robbed of every-

The destruction wrought in Shahalmi Gate, Lahore

thing he had, his clothes were taken off till he was stark naked and then the Baluchis began to kick him and strangle him; they continued this game of slow torture till the man fell senseless. His unconscious body was then thrown out as dead, but he succeeded in struggling back to life and lived to tell his horrible tale.

The Liaison Officer of the East Punjab Government wrote: "In Lahore you will not find a single Hindu or Sikh anywhere in the city or the Civil Station walking about. In some places, however, people in hundreds are living together in a small room to avoid slaughter." A number of important officials were picked out and murdered in a shameless manner. The District Engineer, Mr. S. P. R. Sawhney, had gone to Dalhousie on leave during August. He returned to Lahore on September 11 and was advised by his Muslim friends and colleagues to leave immediately. He went to his office on September 12 to hand over charge, and in his office he was attacked by some Muslims who dragged him out, tied him to a post and then sawed his body into several pieces in a diabolical manner that baffles comprehension.

Mr. Vir Bhan, the Deputy Director of Industries, had opted for India and made arrangements to leave Lahore on August 9. He had, however, to postpone his departure as he was entrusted with certain work connected with the partition of his Department. When the disturbances began on August 11, a police force of about ten constables was posted at his house for his protection. On August 14, the situation in Lahore took a turn for the worse. Mr. Vir Bhan decided to send his family away to Simla. He accordingly asked his wife to pack her things and himself went to his office to arrange for a truck which had been placed at his disposal. Before leaving the house he asked his orderly to get some coolies for loading the truck. It appears that the Muslim orderly brought four coolies and concealed them somewhere in the house. Mr. Vir Bhan returned with the military truck and told his orderly to have the luggage placed on it. He was standing in the drawing room, reading a letter, when he was suddenly attacked by four men who began to stab him with daggers. On hearing his cries, his wife ran up and she, too, was stabbed. Mr. Vir Bhan staggered out of the room and collapsed in the verandah. His daughter was dressing in her room and when she came out she saw her parents lying in pools of blood while the Muslim orderly and the four murderers were carrying away luggage from the house. The police guard pointed their guns at her and accused

her of murdering her father. These policemen searched the persons of Mr. and Mrs. Vir Bhan and removed a wrist watch and currency notes while the pool girl stood watching the grim drama, completely helpless. It was with considerable difficulty that Mrs. Vir Bhan was allowed to be taken to the hospital to receive medical treatment.

Mr. Madan Gopal Singh, the Registrar of the Punjab University, was asked to go to Lahore towards the end of August and an assurance was given to him that he would be protected and provided with an armed escort and trucks for evacuating the non-Muslim staff of the University. He accordingly went to Lahore by air on August 24. No escort was, however, provided and, when Mr. Singh saw the Governor of West Punjab, he was told that trucks would be made available on September 2. On the morning of September 1, a peon of the University went to Mr. Singh's house and told him that the new Registrar, Mr. Bashir, wished to see him in his office. Mr. Singh went to the office at 9 a.m. but did not find Mr. Bashir there. He was told that Mr. Bashir had gone up to see the Vice-Chancellor whose office was on the first floor of the building. Mr. Singh came out of the room to go upstairs and in the verandah he was attacked by three men who inflicted nine wounds on his person and then ran away. Some members of the University staff were working in the rooms near the verandah but no one came out to answer Mr. Singh's cries. Mr. Singh was still alive and he was placed in a car and driven to the hospital. The car, however, was driven at an extremely slow pace and the distance of two miles is said to have been covered in forty-five minutes. When the car arrived at the hospital Mr. Singh's life was extinct.

The massacre of the non-Muslims who had taken shelter in Gurdwara Hargobind on Temple Road was another incident of extreme barbarity. About three hundred and fifty non-Muslims were confined in this Gurdwara which was being guarded by a unit of Hindu military. On August 14, the Hindu guard was replaced by a Muslim guard. The same evening a number of fire balls were thrown inside the Gurdwara and when the non-Muslims, driven by these flames, came out they were shot dead by the Muslim guard or stabbed by members of the Muslim National Guards. Every one of the three hundred and fifty was killed in this manner. The attack had been carefully planned and a member of the National Guards had spoken of it to a Hindu friend a

The destruction of non-Muslim houses and shops in Mozang, Lahore

The destruction of non-Muslim houses and shops in Mozang, Lahore

day before. This Hindu friend had been temporarily converted to Islam and later related the story of the attack. Most of the dead bodies were carried away in military trucks and only a few were left lying in front of the Gurdwara.

Model Town was attacked on August 14, and the National Guards shot several non-Muslims who had taken shelter in a camp. The fortunate arrival of Dogra soldiers prevented what might have been a wholesale slaughter of the camp dwellers. On August 28, a paint and varnish factory was attacked and the National Guards carried away the machinery, raw material, furniture and other goods from the premises in bullock-carts. It took them a week to do this, and the bullock-carts had to make four hundred trips for the purpose but no policeman or military man interfered. Single lorries carrying non-Muslims through the town were frequently attacked. On one occasion the police fired shots at the tyres of a lorry to stop it. The driver and the passengers were ordered to get down and stand in a row. The police constables then began to shoot them one by one.

In the Cantonments looting and arson began on August 16. The Fire Brigade was summoned but the Muslims did not allow it to function. The disturbance spread to all parts of the Cantonments and, between August 21 and September 1, the whole of the Cantonment area was plundered and the non-Muslim houses occupied by Muslims.

Thousands of non-Muslims left the city and found shelter in a camp set up in the D.A.V. College. Of the three lakhs non-Muslims living in Lahore before the trouble began only ten thousand were left on August 19, and, by the end of August, there were not more than a few Hindus and Sikhs in houses and these, too, were waiting for an opportunity to go away.

Conditions in the rural areas were equally bad. It was, however, easy for the villagers to escape from a border district and run away to India. There were numerous mob attacks resulting in considerable loss of life and property. Pattoki was attacked on August 20 and nearly two hundred and fifty non-Muslims were killed. The non-Muslim shops were looted and set fire to. The Baluch military participated in this attack. Many non-Muslim houses in Kasur were burnt down and destroyed. Rioting broke out in this town on August 18, and about ninety non-Muslims were

killed and many more injured. Non-Muslims waiting at the Kasur Railway Station were attacked and several of them were killed.*

Sheikhupura District

The British Government had declared that the interests of the Sikh community would receive special consideration in determining the mode of partition and demarcating the boundary line between India and Pakistan. The district of Sheikhupura was a Muslim majority area† but the Sikhs formed a substantial minority comprising 18.85 per cent of the total population. They were almost mainly responsible for the agricultural development of the district and had important religious and cultural associations in Nankana Sahib, the birth-place of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, and in Sacha Sauda, an important shrine glorifying 'the piety of his childhood days.‡ The fears of the non-Muslims in the district were therefore somewhat allayed by the hope that the Boundary Commission would allot the district to India and they would be permitted to keep their homes and lands. For this reason no large-scale exodus from Sheikhupura took place before August 17, on which date the Radcliffe Award was announced and a stampede for safety began. The minorities were taken at a disadvantage, arrangements for evacuation could not be made immediately, every possible obstacle was placed in their way by the Civil Administration and the military, and for several days no escape was possible; and, while men, women and children, uprooted from their homes, ran hither and thither like hunted animals and crowded into refugee camps, a most ruthless campaign of murder, rape, arson and loot was launched upon them. Wherever they went horror and despair faced them; bloodthirsty gangs of marauders confronted them on the country roads, in towns, in refugee camps, even in trains. Sheikhupura became a by-word during the months that followed. In West Punjab Muslim hooligans used it to intimidate the minorities into handing over their property, accepting Islam or quitting their homes. "If you do not do as you are told," they said, "we shall enact another Sheikhupura here." The horror and wrath which it continued to

* See also table in Appendix II for incidents in rural areas.

† Muslims numbered 63.62 per cent of the total population.

‡ Tradition has it that Nanak's father once gave him some money and sent him to buy provisions for setting up a shop. The young Nanak used the money to feed some sadhus and returned home empty-handed. He told his father that he had invested the money in the commerce of Truth.

evoke in the hearts of the non-Muslims for months afterwards cannot be gauged by a future student of History. Nothing of this nature or on this scale had ever taken place in India, and understanding is staggered at the depth and extent of the murderous fury displayed alike by the unruly Muslim hooligans and the disciplined Police and Army personnel stationed at Sheikhupura. To give a picture of the events which took place at Sheikhupura we cannot do better than quote from the eye-witness accounts of a few persons who were fortunate enough to survive the massacre which continued for three whole days. These statements 'have been chosen on grounds of sincerity and for their lack of exaggeration. The first of these was given by the Civil Surgeon of Sheikhupura.

"Mr. C. H. Disney, the Deputy Commissioner, was mostly away from Sheikhupura during the month of August 1947. He was camping at Nankana Sahib. The Additional District Magistrate, Pir Karam Shah, P.C.S., used to be in charge of the administration at District Headquarters during the absence of Mr. Disney. Pir Karam Shah is a case of high blood pressure and I had to visit him daily, morning and evening, since the trend of events always worried him and brought about symptoms of high blood pressure. These visits afforded me many opportunities to come in contact with people who were to control and order the butchering of Hindus and Sikhs.

"During one of these visits, on August 11 or so, a Canal telegram was received by the Additional District Magistrate that Sikhs had actually attacked Joyanwala Canal Colony and the Muslims living there. Mr. Mohammad Anwar, a local lawyer and the President of the Muslim League, was there. A hasty consultation was held between the Additional District Magistrate and Mr. Mohammad Anwar. The military and police were despatched to Joyanwala and, later on, returned to the Additional District Magistrate's house to report that no such attack had taken place. The Sub-Divisional Officer (Canals), thinking that the Canal Colony was predominantly Muslim, had sent that telegram in panic. Mr. Mohammad Anwar told the Additional District Magistrate that four Sikhs, fully armed, had been spied by the Muslim League volunteers going to Kot Pindi Das, a village with purely Hindu and Sikh population. Mr. Mohammad Anwar was of the opinion that unless strong action were taken Muslim lives in the whole district were in danger. At this Mr. Ahmad Shaffi,

Section 30 Magistrate, who was also present, suddenly flared up and said that in the very near future strong action with a capital S would be taken in the district. I was naturally alarmed at this remark. As about ten Hindu and Sikh gazetted officers were stranded at Sheikhupura without any means of going to India, a joint representation was made to the Deputy Commissioner to afford us facilities to leave Sheikhupura. This representation was treated with the utmost discourtesy. In fact, we were told that there were many Muslim gazetted officers who were stranded in India and were being murdered daily. We made desperate efforts to leave Pakistan but in vain, as the rings put round us were very tight. All vehicular traffic, motor cars, tongas, cycles, going out of Sheikhupura were stopped except with the written permission of the Additional District Magistrate, on August 20 or so. People were flocking into Sheikhupura town from Gujranwala District and its rural areas as Sheikhupura was considered the safest place in Pakistan. This caused great congestion in the town.

" Another factor to be noted is that Muslim refugees began to arrive in Sheikhupura from August 21 onwards. They related hysterical tales about their sufferings. The Muslm League volunteers and Mr. Ahmad Shaffi, P.C.S., used to promise early revenge even in my presence.

" Mr. Mohammad Anwar, the Muslim League President, was always consulted by the Additional District Magistrate or the Magistrates whenever any conference about the disturbed conditions in the district took place. In fact, he used to dictate the action to be taken against non-Muslims.

" Mr. C. H. Disney, the Deputy Commissioner, came back from Nankana Sahib on August 24, and amidst all sorts of rumours about the disturbed conditions in the Sheikhupura District a curfew was clamped on the town from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. This was the first time that a curfew had been promulgated in the town even though there had been Muslim League and Sikh agitation before. The people received the news as a very bad omen. The Hindus and Sikhs had been stabbed in trains running between Lahore and Lyallpur from August 21 onwards. The stabbers were particularly active at Sheikhupura Railway Station. Unknown bodies of about twelve Hindus and Sikhs had been sent in for *post mortem* examination with stab or gunshot wounds.

Naturally people took this curfew order to mean their extinction and it proved to be so.

"At about 2 a.m. on August 25, the town was ablaze. Some Hindu and Sikh shops in the main bazaar had been set on fire. The military and police reached the spot and anybody coming out of their houses to extinguish the fire was shot at. The Deputy Commissioner reached the spot later on. He decided to lift the curfew then and there, and so it was announced by him and by the police. The people rushed to extinguish the fire. The Baluch soldiers of the Punjab Boundary Force stationed there for protective purposes began to shoot these people. One died on the spot and another, Hakim Lachhman Singh, was hit by a bullet at about 2-30 a.m. in the main street near the place where the fire was raging. He was not allowed to be moved to the hospital till 7 a.m. next morning. He died of the gunshot wound in his chest a few hours later, as nothing could be done to save his life after so much time. About four Sikhs and two Hindus were also stabbed in running trains. One of the Sikhs was a police constable. A medico-legal certificate about his injuries was issued to him by me. His statement was not recorded by the police even on repeated requests in my presence as some people of the Sheikhupura town were involved in that stabbing. Another feature, most alarming to the people, was the disarming of the Sikh and Hindu police at Sheikhupura from Sub-Inspector down to constables. All of them were asked to deposit their kit and their arms in the Civil Lines Police Station and to quit the Police Lines. God only knows their fate. August 25 dawned with all bad omens. The town began to be evacuated. The people began to go to the villages. They were ordered to stay in the town by the local authorities and anybody leaving the town was liable to be shot. The people then began to flock to the Civil Lines. Each bungalow in the Civil Lines became a refugee centre for the people from the city.

"At about 10 a.m. people began to talk of the curfew being again imposed from 2-30 p.m. on August 25 to 6 a.m. on August 26. This curfew order was never promulgated. A Baluch Officer came and asked the Superintendent of the Deputy Commissioner's office who was my neighbour to get the curfew order promulgated in the town. There were no peons, no conveyances and no men available to do this. The Military officer was informed accordingly. He left the place, saying that he had orders to contact the Superintendent

only. If the Superintendent had no arrangements he should see the Deputy Commissioner himself. The Deputy Commissioner was not on the 'phone; the stabbers were out in the town and no one was safe on the roads. The publicity van was not used for this purpose even on repeated requests. And so the curfew order was never promulgated. It will not be out of place to mention here that all the Punjab Boundary Force stationed at Sheikhupura consisted of Baluch Muslims with the exception of six Hindus who were kept in the office for paper work.

"The real trouble started at about 2-30 p.m. The Armed Police was stationed on all the level crossings and all the outlets of the town. One of the policemen told me that the Sikhs were attacking the town and the Baluch soldiers had gone in action against them from Ramgarh side. Smoke was issuing from Ramgarh, a suburb of Sheikhupura, and from the bazaar. Later on it was found that the Sikh and Hindu shops were on fire. The reports of firing increased in intensity and reached a real firing line type. Jeeps carrying Baluch soldiers were seen hurrying to the town. There was no mistaking from the cries of the town people as to who were the victims. The fire came nearer and nearer the hospital. At about 6-30 p.m. a mob of Muslims, headed by Dr. Salimi and his son and some policemen in uniform, crying *"Ya Ali, Ya Ali,'* attacked the house of Mr. Des Raj, Advocate, about a hundred yards from my bungalow. They shot Des Raj's son and one daughter. They kidnapped two of his daughters and the wife of Mr. Barlow, a Sub-Judge, who was staying there as a guest. Then the house was set on fire and completely burnt down. Three helmeted policemen in uniform and one man from the mob entered the hospital compound and came towards my quarters. These people bolted all the doors of my house from outside and went away. We were naturally alarmed at this.

"At night the fury, both of the burning fires and of shooting, increased to an alarming degree. The Hindus and Sikhs, in the name of their gods, were crying for mercy, but apparently in vain, as an incident narrated below showed.

"At about midnight Lt. Shephard of the Baluch Regiment brought to the hospital a Sikh child who, in the words of the Lieutenant, had been *'halal karoed.'* He told me that the whole family of seven men and women had been murdered and that people were being horribly massacred in the town. He also said

that the two English Lieutenants were on duty in the camp and not in the town.

"Throughout the night the burning of the town and the killing of the people, as evidenced by their cries of mercy, continued. Twice the mob entered the hospital crying '*Ya Ali, Ya Ali,*' and passed through it and then attacked the houses on the other side of the hospital.

"In the midst of burning fires and the shooting of guns August 26 dawned. During the night the old city, Ramgarh, the main bazaar and adjoining portions were completely burnt out. On the morning of the 26th it was proclaimed by the police that the rice mills had been chosen as refugee camps and people in difficult circumstances should go there for safety as military and police would protect them there.

"The firing on the 26th was most concentrated in Guru Nanak Pura, a locality adjacent to the hospital. Here we saw the most ghastly sights and the most organized butchering of Hindus and Sikhs. The technique was as follows. First the Baluch soldiers and police came and shot at everybody on the road or on the houses. Following them were persons carrying tins of kerosene oil, etc. These people soaked rags in petrol or kerosene oil and set fire to the houses. When the houses were ablaze the inmates either came out on the road, where the military got them, or they crossed over to the adjacent houses and thus caused congestion in particular localities. This especially occurred in the Government quarters of the Clerical Establishment. The stabbers were then let loose on these houses. These fiends broke open the doors with axes and hammers and butchered the inmates, men and women, and abducted the girls within their sight. Whosoever tried to run away fell a victim to the shots of the Baluchis and the policemen. Having thus cleared away all the living population the looters began to ransack the houses under the very nose of the policemen. At about 10 o'clock, trench-mortar fire was heard in Guru Nanak Pura locality. In all we heard about ten mortar shots. Since the firing came nearer and nearer to the hospital and the people had been killed under our very noses, we hid ourselves in the dark room attached to the X-ray Department of the hospital. It proved to be the safest place. While hiding there in the dark room we heard woeful cries of Hindu and Sikh children as they were done to death by the Muslim mob. The cry of one child was particularly heart-rending. At about 2 p.m.

we heard the cry, 'Do not cut my throat. Do not cut my throat. You have already killed my parents. Take me with you.' He was killed in the hospital verandah about twenty paces from us.

"A hospital cook, Gopal by name, being the toughest and the most trustworthy servant, volunteered to stay out of the dark room and tell us at guarded moments what was happening outside. In case he had to communicate with us, the pass word was 'Sheikh Sahib,' shouted thrice with intervals. Until he did this no one of us in the dark room was to reply. At about 3 p.m. Gopal gave us a warning that the military men were in the hospital and that some children had been killed in the hospital compound. He returned after a while to report that my house had been surrounded by about fifty soldiers. Here Gopal got a brain wave. He told the military men that I and the dispenser with a few servants had left the hospital to go to some village and that the mob had found us and murdered us. Gopal said that our dead bodies were lying in the fields. He was intimidated but stuck to his story. A short while afterwards the firing in the hospital increased in fury and hand-grenades were heard bursting. Gopal told us afterwards that the military had attacked my house and, finding it empty, they had their revenge on the hospital patients. There were eight patients in the hospital, all Hindus and Sikhs, Muslims having left *en bloc* a day previously. None of these patients was alive on August 27. Gopal told me afterwards that Qazi Ahmad Shaffi, P.C.S., and K. S. Bakar Hussain, Superintendent of Police, were present for two hours in the hospital compound directing the fire, especially at my house. The firing in the hospital died down at about 6 p.m. The groans of the injured, nearing their end, were heard from all round the hospital. We remained in the dark room till the 27th morning.

"All the injured who were brought to the hospital by the military told us that they had been shot by the Baluch soldiers or stabbed in their presence by Muslim mobs on the 25th or 26th. The injured also told me that the Baluch soldiers had collected the Hindus and Sikhs in the rice mills on the false pretext of protecting them. Having got these men in these places the military first asked them to hand over their valuables and then mercilessly killed them.

"The Hindu and Sikh Military Force arrived on the 27th evening and we heaved a sigh of relief.

"The number of the injured swelled to four hundred indoor patients and about two hundred walking patients. Besides these there were women and young girls in all forms of nakedness. Even the ladies of most respectable families had the misfortune of having undergone this most terrible experience. The wife of an Advocate had practically nothing on when she came to the hospital. The casualties among the males and females were about equal. About a hundred wounded children were amongst the casualties.

"The Officer Commanding the Baluch Para Troops, 1st Battalion, came to the hospital at about noon. I had a talk with him. His words were 'All this has happened because the senior officers had gone on leave.' The Commanding Officer placed the services of his Unit Medical Officer, Captain Zia-ul-Hussan, I.A.M.C., at my disposal. This officer, though always at the hospital, never dressed a single case nor administered any medicine to any Hindu or Sikh wounded. He was always an obstacle in the way of getting amenities and treatment for the patients. . . .

"In the end I feel honour-bound to record that the lives of my children and those of about six hundred educated Hindus and Sikhs, male and female, of the Civil Lines, were saved by the efforts of some God-fearing Muslims who gave them shelter in their houses, even at the risk of their lives."

What happened at the rice mills is related by an eye-witness in the following terms:

"On August 26, at about 7 a.m., I reached the mill of Sardar Atma Singh. There were about seven or eight thousand non-Muslim refugees from all parts of the town collected there. At about 8 a.m. the Muslim Baluch military surrounded the mill and then a shot was fired which resulted in the death of a woman inside the mill. After that, Swami Anand Singh, President of the Congress Committee, went to the military men with a green flag in his hand and asked them what they wanted. He said that the entire non-Muslim property in the town had been burnt and looted. The military men demanded twenty-six hundred rupees which were paid. After this another shot was fired and a man was killed, and, on being again requested by Swami Anand Singh, they demanded another twelve hundred rupees which were also paid. But after this they told us that they wanted to search all the refugees and that we should come out and whosoever remained in would be shot dead. All the seven thousand or eight

thousand refugees went out and then they were told that they should give up all cash and valuables which they had. Swami Anand Singh advised the unfortunate refugees to comply with this demand. In a short while a pile of seven or eight maunds of gold was collected at the spot and about thirty or forty lakhs of rupees. All this wealth was taken away by the military men. Then they began to pick and choose young girls from the refugees, but when this was being done Swami Anand Singh objected, upon which he was shot dead. Thereafter one of the Muslim Baluch military men took hold of a young girl and began to molest her in the presence of all the non-Muslim refugees. This became intolerable and a young Hindu attacked the Baluch soldier. Thereupon all the Baluch soldiers began to fire upon the refugees, and while the front rows of the refugees stood up the non-Muslims began to kill their young girls to save their honour. In the meantime the firing upon the refugees continued and people began to fall and die on the spot. I lay down on the ground behind a tree. After some time, seeing that it would be impossible to survive if I remained there, in a hysterical state of mind, I stood up and, under the shower of bullets, I scaled the adjoining wall and jumped down on the other side. During this interval there was a rain of bullets over my head and under my feet and I cannot imagine how I remained alive. On the other side, a Baluch soldier who was standing on guard aimed his gun at me when I was very close to him, but I jumped and rushed at him and was able to snatch away his gun. I struck him with the butt-end and he became unconscious. All the time there were showers of bullets around me but I ran with the greatest speed that I could gather and went away into the fields and ultimately found shelter in an adjoining mill under the jute bags lying there. I heard reports of guns being fired inside the mill and, after two or three hours, fearing that I might be discovered, I went up to the mill inside a room, where two young unfortunate Hindu girls had also taken refuge. From that place of vantage I could see what was happening to the non-Muslim refugees in the mill which I had left. Those who could escape alive from the bullets of the Baluch soldiers were being attacked by an armed Muslim mob outside and were being killed on the spot in a most savage fashion. In one instance they snatched a young child from the arms of his mother, cut it into two and stabbed the mother with a spear.

"After some time, seeing that it was impossible to escape alive from there, I could think of no means of escape, but seeing a Mohammedan constable who was an old friend of mine I came down with the two refugee Hindu girls pretending that they were my sisters. The Mohammedan constable was near by when we were about to be attacked by other raiders. I beckoned to him and begged him to save mine and my sisters' lives. Fortunately he agreed and took us away stealthily to a village Malian Kalan."

The experience of a rich Reis is also worth recording.

". . . The Muslim military came looting the houses and shops of Hindus and Sikhs on our side. We saw the house of Sardar Bahadur Buta Singh which was opposite mine being looted. The goods were removed in a truck by twenty men. This made us certain that we would be the next victims. My wife immediately ran into the inner room of the house and took some poison, while we were watching through the window and awaiting the arrival of the looters. My old mother did the same. A military tank entered from one gate and passing in front of my house left by the other gate. It had come either to warn us or to scare us away.

"We waited for the night to come. At 8 on the night of the 26th, we left the house, leaving the bodies of my wife and mother uncremated and covered with a sheet. Servants carried my five children and we passed through the Mission Ahata and across the railway line safely. After we had run about a hundred yards we met sixty men, armed with spears and swords. To our great good fortune they took pity on me and my children and allowed us to pass. We decided to go towards Gujranwala and cross the Ravi river and reach India. We continued walking the whole night and the next day at about 3-30, we reached Tallianwala. Unfortunately we were not allowed to enter the village as the villagers were afraid that we might cause a disturbance. We selected a spot where there was a small forest. To my surprise I came to know in the evening that there were about fifteen thousand Hindus and Sikhs assembled in the neighbourhood. Some of them were from Sheikhupura while the majority of them were from different villages which had been attacked by the military." This witness and his children finally reached the refugee camp at Chuharkana.

All the three camps set up in Sheikhupura on the morning of August 26, were attacked in this manner. Some non-Muslims collected in the Namdhari Dharamshala. Among them was a

teacher of the Government High School, Sheikhupura, whose story is as follows:

"At about 3-30 p.m. from our roofs we saw that the rioters had come into the courtyard round which our houses were situated. The military was patrolling around this area and once they even came into the courtyard. They pointed guns at us but did not fire, nor did they interfere with the rioters. Soon after this, the rioters who were Muslims set fire to some of the houses. The military were purely Baluch. The rioters looted the houses and drove away the cattle which were tied in the courtyard. The looted houses were then set fire to. Some women were also taken away by the rioters. When the residents of the houses went up to the roofs the military shot them. I saw this with my own eyes. The houses on three sides of the courtyard were in this manner looted and burnt by about 4 a.m. the following night. A large crowd of non-Muslims had collected in my house where they had sought refuge. A large number of rioters came to our house but we raised cries of '*Sat Siri Akal*' and they went away. Almost immediately afterwards they returned and began to fire at us. Our impression was that it was the Baluch military who were firing. Two of our men were killed and two were injured. Wherever we could see there were fires raging all round us. We thought we would go out in the open and leave the rioters to loot our houses but the general opinion was against this step and so we stayed on inside the houses till the morning. The fire on one side died down and then we came out. We met the military who told us that it was safe for us to go away.

"We left and soon afterwards we heard reports of firing. I took shelter in the Namdhari Dharamsala where there were about a thousand non-Muslims collected. At 9 a.m. about sixty rioters, accompanied by about twenty soldiers, arrived and began to fire at us. The rioters were carrying iron tube-like contraptions about 18 inches long and 3 inches in diameter. I was told that this implement was used for throwing bombs or grenades. The rioters were carrying swords but not guns. There were so many of us in the small room of the Gurdwara that we could scarcely breathe. Many men cut off the heads of their wives and daughters and threw them down the well. We could not get water from this well as the bucket would not go down. The well became full of blood. After a little while we were told to come out and were

made to sit in the courtyard of the Dharamsala. It was the military who gave this order. They asked us to give whatever valuables we had and every one of us handed out whatever he had, and then we were sent one by one to the cremation ground which was near the Dharamsala. There we saw hundreds of dead bodies lying. We were made to sit in rows and in small groups at different points of the cremation ground. Then the rioters came there with swords and other weapons ready to kill us. We asked these people to convert us to Islam but they refused. There were no soldiers there. They had gone away after taking part of our valuables in the Gurdwara courtyard. Many Sikhs bared their heads and asked the rioters to cut off their hair and convert them to Islam but they said that they were thirsty for the blood of the non-Muslims. At this time an aeroplane passed over our heads and we made signals of distress by waving turbans, clothes or women's veils. The rioters did not make a wholesale attack on us. They took a few of us at a time behind a house near the cremation ground to kill. This was about 2 p.m. I cannot say how many of us were killed. We heard cries and shrieks from behind the house. After a time the rioters went away and we returned to the Dharamsala. There also we found hundreds of dead bodies lying. I cannot say if these were the bodies of people who were originally in the Dharamsala or if they had been brought there afterwards to kill. There were no rioters or military in sight.

"We had heard rumours that the rioters wanted to loot and set fire to Chuharkana. Thinking that this was a good opportunity to escape, about forty of us left to run away to a neighbouring village. A second party of about a hundred persons left a little later when it was getting dark. I was in this party. We did not go by the main roads but through the rice fields. We reached a Sikh village, Ranjit Kot, three and a half miles away, at about 10 p.m. that night. We met a party of about forty Muslims just outside the village. They were armed with daggers and swords and they told us that all the Sikhs and Hindus had already left. They saw that many of us were wounded. These Muslims did not attack us. They told us that they could not give us any food as it was too late and advised us to go away if we valued our lives. As I have already said, we were about a hundred in number but we had no arms of any kind. There were women and children also among us. We approached another village but from there we heard sounds of firing. We spent the night in a wet ploughed

field. In the morning we went to a village near Mirza. Around this village I noticed that a ditch had been dug, apparently for purposes of protection. This ditch was full of water. I noticed similar ditches around several other villages which I visited during the course of the next few days. I was going round the villages in order to make enquiries about my wife and daughter. I did not come across any police or military during this time. There was a general movement, on a large scale, of non-Muslims. People were moving in and out of villages. I did not come across any rioting during these few days. I saw a crowd of about forty Muslims outside the village near Mirza, but the number of non-Muslims in this village was large. The Sikhs were saying that the Muslims were telling them to go away if they did not want to be killed. There was a party of about sixty persons, Hindus and Sikhs, led by a dacoit, Bahadur Singh, who offered to protect us. Some of these persons had firearms. There were about a thousand of us and Bahadur Singh told us to sit together and said that he would protect us as long as he lived.

" We used to visit different villages and the Sikh residents gave us food and served us. Then we heard that refugee camps were being opened near Sheikhupura and Sacha Sauda. I went to the camp at Sacha Sauda. On the way I met crowds of people walking like ants. They had left their houses and were making for the refugee camps. At Sacha Sauda there were about one and a quarter lakh refugees. The only food which was available for them was wheat and gram which was being distributed by the officer in charge. People were bringing sugarcanes from the neighbouring fields. I thought that I would die of cholera in these conditions and decided to go to Sheikhupura. Seeing two Baluch lorries coming along the road I asked the Baluch soldiers to take me to Sheikhupura. They took me there and I went to the Sikh Girls' School which had been converted into a refugee camp. There in the hospital, some patients told me that my wife and daughter had been taken away safely. At Sacha Sauda no lorries came and I was told that some days ago ten lorries had come to take refugees away and after that no transport had arrived although telephonic messages had been sent. Three or four days later I found accommodation in a truck and went to the D.A.V. College Camp at Lahore. Two or three days later some trucks for Government servants came and I travelled by one of these to Amritsar where I found my wife and daughter.

"The story given by my wife and daughter was this:

"'When we left our house and went on to the main road the military collected about 150 of us and took us on one side. They made us sit down and gave us water to drink and some fruits and biscuits which had been looted from a shop. They told us to eat these as our end was near. Then they made us sit in a row and began to kill us one by one. (I cannot say if these were the rioters or the military but the military was present.) The military carried away some girls in lorries. They wanted to take my daughter away also but she said that she should rather be shot. A military soldier pointed his gun at her but it appears that these men were busy looting and carrying away the booty and so my daughter escaped. The killing started from one end of the row and, getting an opportunity, about twenty-five of us from the other side ran and escaped into a narrow lane near the temple.'

"My wife and daughter were separated. My wife took shelter in one house and my daughter in another. My daughter tried to put an end to her life by persuading a lawyer's son to strangle her. Three attempts were made to do this but my daughter survived though she remained unconscious for some time. There were one or two other girls in this house also and they prepared a pyre with some quilts and *charpoys*. They spent about two days in this house and during this time my wife joined my daughter. Then the military came and rescued them and took them to Amritsar. My daughter was an Assistant Mistress in the Government High School at Sargodha and was staying with me during the holidays at that time."

A Hindu lawyer who found shelter in the house of a friendly Muslim relates that he heard Mr. Disney, Malik Mohammad Anwar and Mr. Ghulam Hussain Chhatta* holding the following conversation:

"*Mr. Disney*: 'In the last twenty-four hours practically the whole town is decimated. What more do you want?'

"*Malik Mohammad Anwar*: 'We have to continue this work till we receive further instructions from higher authorities at Lahore.'

"*Mr. Disney*: 'I am a little upset about this carnage.'

"*Malik Mohammad Anwar*: 'But orders are to be obeyed and we have to carry on till we get further instructions. We apprehend danger from Sikhs of neighbouring villages.'

* Afterwards a Parliamentary Secretary in the West Punjab Government.

"*Mr. Disney*: 'But no Sikh can come in the presence of Muslim military and the police.'

"*Mr. Chhatta*: 'But orders are orders. We will phone up Lahore just now for further instructions.'"

It would be superfluous to make any comment on this amazing conversation.

The total death roll at Sheikhupura has been variously estimated between eight thousand and twenty-five thousand. A conservative estimate based on the evidence of the most reliable witnesses would put the figure at about ten thousand.

The Sacha Sauda refugee camp was situated near the railway line and was a good target for anyone firing from a railway train passing by. Baluch soldiers, travelling in trains, fired at refugees in the camp on three different occasions and each time heavy loss of life was occasioned. These attacks were admitted by the West Punjab Government and the explanation given by them was that the refugees had taken up a threatening attitude towards the armed Muslim military in the trains who had fired shots in self-defence. It is difficult to imagine a more unconvincing and evasive explanation of these savage attacks on innocent and unarmed refugees who had been driven out from their homes and were subsisting on extremely meagre rations before means for evacuating them could be made available.

At Sangla Hill, the local Sub-Inspector of Police demanded a heavy bribe for protecting the non-Muslims. The money was paid but the non-Muslims were attacked on August 28, and large numbers of them were murdered. Looting and burning of Hindu shops and houses followed. On September 7, the non-Muslims were told that they must leave within an hour. They were then driven out from their houses at the point of the bayonet. Anyone who tried to take his valuables away was robbed. The non-Muslims were kept in a camp in one of the factories for several days. Some of them were forcibly converted. One of the factory owners was compelled to write a letter admitting that he had leased his factory to a Muslim for five years. About three hundred men in the refugee camp died from an epidemic of cholera which broke out owing to the insanitary conditions prevailing there.

Some shops in Chuharkana were burnt on August 20, but a major tragedy was averted by the arrival of some non-Muslim military officers. In Chak No. 10 four hundred men were

killed in the course of an assault by a Muslim mob accompanied by Pakistan military. Over a hundred young girls were kidnapped. Bhalair and Jandiala Sher Khan were attacked in a similar manner. Several foot convoys of non-Muslims were attacked in different parts of the district. A railway train was attacked near Moman and fifty non-Muslims were killed. Their dead bodies were thrown in the canal. Some of them were recovered the next day by the residents of Sangla. All twenty passengers in a truck, escorted by Baluch soldiers, were done to death on their way to Lahore. Their dead bodies were found lying in the canal by a foot caravan. A large party of non-Muslims from Sheikhwan was attacked on September 3 and, in the course of the attack, forty persons lost their lives, a hundred more were injured and fourteen girls were kidnapped.

Sialkot District

Sialkot has many historical, religious and romantic associations with the past. According to popular legends the city was founded by Raja Sala, the uncle of the Pandavas and re-founded, in the time of Vikramaditya, by Raja Salivahan who built the fort and the city on their present sites. Puran Bhagat, the saint and hero of popular romances, who refused the incestuous advances of his step-mother and was made to undergo horrible tortures, was the son of this Salivahan. The well in which he was thrown by the order of the wicked Rani lies a few miles from Sialkot and, until its desecration and partial demolition by the Muslims in August 1947, used to be a place of pilgrimage. There is a Sikh shrine dedicated to Guru Nanak and near it Darbar Baoli Sahib, a covered well, built by a Rajput disciple of Baba Nanak. Both places are held in great veneration by the Sikh community.

During the Moghul times, Sialkot became the headquarters of a fiscal district and has remained so to the present day. The Emperor Jahangir passed through the district on his way to Kashmir and recorded in his diary that he found the surroundings delightful.* In more recent years the district acquired a certain amount of notoriety during the Ahrar agitation of 1932-33 when bands of Ahrars, bound for Kashmir, invaded the district. The city of Sialkot is associated with the firm of Uberoi, the well-known manufacturers of sports goods; and numerous other firms, big and

* The name of the town Pasrur is said to be a corruption of the word "*pursaroor*" used by Jehangir, meaning full of delight.

small, dealing in sports goods, surgical and scientific instruments ; and a number of rubber factories recently set up gave it considerable importance in the commercial world. It was a flourishing trade centre and an important depot for agricultural produce. A large cantonment situated near the city added to its importance.

The total population of the district at the census of 1941 was 11.9 lakhs including 7.39 lakhs, or 62 per cent Muslims. It became one of the border districts during the days of notional division. As the result of the Radcliffe Award it was augmented by the addition of Shakargarh Tehsil which originally formed part of the district of Gurdaspur. The river Ravi then became its eastern boundary along its entire length. This circumstance added to the difficulties and sufferings of the non-Muslim refugees running eastward to escape from the bands of Muslim marauders who roamed the countryside committing murder, loot and arson during the months of August and September 1947.

Hindu-Muslim relations in the district had always been cordial and were seldom marred by communal riots. The agitation against the Coalition Ministry during January and February 1947, however, helped to awaken communal consciousness and, in the beginning of March, an incident occurred in the city of Sialkot which led to the stabbing of a dozen non-Muslims. The situation was controlled immediately and no further trouble was witnessed until July 11, when someone threw a bomb in one of the main bazaars. There was a sudden though short-lived flare up and three non-Muslims were stabbed. Exactly a month later three Sikhs were fatally stabbed. The next day, August 12, six more non-Muslims were attacked and killed. Panic spread through the city, Hindus and Sikhs closed their shops and locked themselves up in their houses. Muslim League National Guards and Muslim hooligans began to move about the city in a threatening manner. On August 13, a mob of several thousand Muslims armed with all kinds of weapons, firearms, hatchets, swords, daggers and sticks was seen collecting. At this time the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police were both Muslims. They were informed of what was happening but they left for Narowal without making any arrangements to safeguard the life and property of the citizens. The first victim of mob fury was a Sikh Advocate whose house was looted and burnt. Before the morning was well advanced, almost all the Hindu Mohallas and bazaars were in flames. The sports goods factories and the rubber mills were plundered and set fire to.

A huge mob attacked the rice factory of Munshi Ram-Gian Chand and began to loot it. A number of hooligans caught the proprietor and cut off his fingers. They stood around him, jeered at him and asked him: "Where are your Nihang protectors we heard so much about? Call them now." They then threw petrol all over his clothes and burnt him alive. His brothers, who were watching this gruesome scene from a distance, jumped into a well with their wives and children. The mob ran up and threw brickbats down the well till all of them were killed. The rest of the family and the staff working in the mill were done to death. The Gurdwara Baoli Sahib was surrounded and burnt. Thirty-two non-Muslims including a Sikh police constable, lost their lives in this fire. Groups of hooligans accompanied by National Guards and Muslim policemen rushed about the streets of the city in a mad frenzy, shouting "*Allah-O-Akbar*," "*Ya Ali, Ya Ali*" and burnt and looted non-Muslim houses. Only the Muslim houses and shops displaying pieces of green cloth or Muslim League flags were spared. Any Sikh or Hindu who was rash or foolish enough to venture out was shot or stabbed. An Inspector of Police and a head constable were seen leading one of the mobs. Curfew was imposed late on the evening of the 14th, but even then it could not be enforced against the Muslims. A refugee camp was set up in the Cantonments and some non-Muslims succeeded in finding their way to it. They were searched and deprived of all they possessed. Non-Muslim officers posted at Sialkot sought refuge in the Police Lines and remained confined there for four days. On August 18, these wretched officers were taken out of the Police Lines, forcibly disarmed and thrown out on the road to fend for themselves. They sought shelter in the refugee camp. The non-Muslim police officials found themselves in serious peril of their lives. A Sub-Inspector of Police was told by his own subordinates to give up his revolver. A Sikh Prosecuting Sub-Inspector, while walking in the Police Lines, was shot at by a Muslim constable but was able to save himself by lying flat on the ground. The non-Muslim police officials took refuge in a private bungalow where they remained for two nights before moving to the refugee camp.

A train from Wazirabad which arrived at Sialkot on August 14, was found to contain fifty dead bodies of non-Muslim men, women and children. Young infants had been butchered and two of them were found clinging to their mothers with gashing wounds and completely covered with blood. This train had been stopped

at Naizam Abad by the Muslim driver who saw a mob waiting near the railway line. The train was attacked and the non-Muslim passengers were brutally slaughtered. The dead bodies were removed from the compartments under the supervision of a Magistrate and the train was loaded with non-Muslims of Sialkot wishing to leave for Jammu. The train was derailed three miles from Sialkot near Dalowali and a mob of four or five thousand Muslims was seen approaching. The military escort fired at the mob and kept them at bay for a time. Fortunately a body of Sikh soldiers, living in the military barracks near by, ran up and averted what might have proved a most gruesome massacre.

Two or three days later another train carrying non-Muslim passengers was derailed at the same place. The Muslim mob was again driven away, as on the previous occasion, and the train was taken back to Sialkot. Owing to the curfew orders, the passengers could not leave the station and go home. They had to stay on the platform, surrounded by an angry Muslim mob for several hours, while a leading Advocate was making efforts to obtain the permission of the District Magistrate to their going home. They were finally taken to a private camp at Puran Nagar.

From August 16 to August 20 a marked improvement in the situation was observed. A Minister of the West Punjab Government then paid a visit to Sialkot and held a secret conference with the Muslim League leaders behind closed doors, while the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police waited outside. After the Minister left Sialkot, disturbances re-commenced with even greater fury. The general impression was that the District Magistrate was sincerely anxious to put an end to this carnage but the police openly flouted his authority and he felt completely helpless. He called the Secretary and the President of the local Muslim League to a meeting at the City Police Station and told them that their leadership had failed because they had been unable to influence their followers and stop the rioting in the city. The office-bearers resented this remark and left the meeting in anger. Three days later the District Magistrate was transferred to Lahore.

A refugee train was scheduled to leave Sialkot for Jammu at 9 a.m. on August 20. The train was packed with non-Muslim passengers and provided with a non-Muslim escort. The engine driver refused to start unless the personnel of the escort were changed and until Muslim police and military were sent with the train. A report was made to the District Magistrate who ordered

the engine driver to be arrested. The man was adamant and he was supported by the Muslim National Guards who openly declared that they would murder him if he left with the non-Muslim escort. This train did not leave and the passengers had to go back to the refugee camp.

The proprietor of the firm of Uberoi saw many of his non-Muslim employees murdered; others ran away. He himself escaped and reached Jammu. When he returned a few days later, he found that the local authorities, with the assistance of the Police and National Guards, had taken possession of his factory. Large quantities of his stocks lying in the factory and his personal goods including carpets, furniture and jewellery from his house were removed in trucks. A dummy directorate was set up and an attempt was made to operate upon the firm's bank account.

A Hindu Advocate left his house in a tonga with a few belongings and proceeded on the road to Jammu. He was stopped by the National Guards and deprived of all his goods. He returned to Sialkot after peace was restored but was unable to remove either his library or any other part of his personal effects. Thousands of non-Muslims perished in the course of this rioting and lost all their property. Many girls were kidnapped and dishonoured.

Rioting in the rural areas started almost simultaneously. Every village in the district was attacked by mobs of Muslim hooligans. In many instances the mobs were led by members of the Muslim League National Guards or police officials. The pattern of the assault was the same everywhere with a few variations prompted by individual genius or the peculiarity of local conditions. In some cases the local Muslims promised safety and protection to the non-Muslim residents and swore upon the Quran that no harm would come to them; but, when the village was attacked by men from the neighbouring villages, these promises were forgotten and the local Muslims joined the marauders in looting and murdering their co-villagers. In other villages heavy bribes were demanded and paid, but this only increased the greed of the bribe-takers, and the non-Muslim residents were soon afterwards robbed of everything they had. Conversion to Islam was frequently offered as the price of safety, and if the victims exhibited any reluctance or religious scruples they were subjected to duress and torture. The hair of Sikhs was cut off, their beards were trimmed and beef was cooked and forced down their throats. Some of them were circumcised. Young women and girls were molested

and carried away. Reason and decency were completely banished by fanatical zeal ; and young innocent girls were raped in public. In one village the relations of a girl were made to stand around in a ring while she was raped by several men in succession. Parties of non-Muslims running away from such horrible scenes were set upon and murdered. Even when armed escorts accompanied these parties there was no respite from these ordeals, in fact, the guards were not unwilling to share in the loot. When the refugees reached the banks of the Ravi and safety appeared to be within sight, the problem of crossing the river presented serious difficulties. Heavy rains had made the river unfordable, boats were rarely available and the Muslim boatmen demanded exorbitant fares. Delays occurred and, while the refugees waited, they were attacked by Muslim hooligans. In some cases a whole week had to be spent, out in the open, without food or shelter. Young children and old men could not survive exposure and starvation during the monsoon months and large numbers of them died. Trains were stopped and attacked on the way. Their passage was delayed and food and drink were deliberately withheld from the unfortunate passengers. Appeals for a drop of water were met with the argument that the water of Pakistan would disagree with the stomachs of those who were running away to India.

During the months of August and September two hundred and thirty-eight villages were attacked and looted. There were thirty-three distinct attacks on refugees proceeding to India by road and six on those travelling by train. A few village incidents chosen at random are given below. A few others will be found in a table in Appendix II.

A mob of armed Muslims raided Rajiana Rattan on August 22, 1947, at 9 a.m. An Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police and twelve police constables accompanied the mob. The non-Muslims of the village were asked to embrace Islam if they wanted to live peacefully. They had to make their decision within two hours and inform the Assistant Sub-Inspector. They met in a *haveli* to discuss the matter and decided against conversion. Torrential rain coming at this juncture drove the Muslims to seek shelter in houses. The non-Muslims ran out and hid themselves in the fields near the village. As soon as the rain stopped, the Muslims came out and plundered the empty houses. They then went out to the fields in order to round up the non-Muslims. Ten of them were killed but the rest were able to escape to Jammu State.

On August 23, the non-Muslims of village Gol decided to leave their homes on hearing persistent rumours of attacks on the neighbouring villages. A large party of them left at noon but they had gone only a short distance when they were confronted by a mob of armed Muslims accompanied by some policemen and military soldiers. They ran back to the village and took shelter in the house of Chaudhry Raghbir Singh Zaildar. The Zaildar took his gun and climbed up to the roof. The house was surrounded by the Muslims and the Zaildar was shot dead. Some of the hooligans went up to the roof, made a hole in the ceiling and dropped a number of bombs inside. Many people were killed and injured. Some, opening the door, ran out. These, too, were attacked. Others hid themselves in the fields till it was dark, and then they walked to the river Ravi and succeeded in being taken across.

On August 17, five thousand non-Muslims drawn from thirty-two villages went to the Daska Camp and after staying there for a fortnight started for Dera Baba Nanak, escorted by the Pakistan military. The convoy arrived at Alipur Saidan Railway Station, and stopped there for the night. A mob of two hundred Muslims, armed with fire arms, spears and swords, had come to Alipur Saidan the previous day and they were entertained by the local Muslims. They planned to attack the non-Muslims camping at the station. When the convoy left in the morning the Muslim mob attacked it. The military escort joined the mob and the attack continued for two hours and a half. Eight hundred non-Muslims were killed and seventy were injured. A number of girls were kidnapped. Property valued at several thousand rupees was looted. The providential arrival of a train from Sialkot enabled two thousand of the survivors to leave Alipur Saidan. The rest had to be left behind for lack of accommodation in the train. These were saved by some Hindu soldiers who arrived on the following day and escorted them to Dera Baba Nanak.

Baidana remained peaceful until September 18, although there was considerable panic and tension as several villages in the neighbourhood were being attacked by Muslim mobs. On September 18, Jajjar, a village one mile from Badiana, was attacked. The Zaildar of the Ilaqa took a Muslim chaukidar with him and tried to persuade the Muslim mob to spare Badiana. The Zaildar was attacked and beaten. The next day the non-Muslims from the adjoining villages collected and marched out to meet the Muslims.

In the clash that ensued both sides suffered casualties. On September 24, a huge mob of Muslims attacked village Fatehpur which is close to Badiana. This mob was led by a Sub-Inspector of Police and four constables armed with rifles. The Sikh residents of Fatehpur resisted and the mob went back. The non-Muslims of Badiana then left their village and made their way to Pasrur. At the Pasrur Camp the refugees were attacked and fifteen of them were killed by Muslim troops. The refugees left Pasrur for Dera Baba Nanak and, on the way, there were again attacked near Narowal. Fortunately, a band of Hindu soldiers arrived and dispersed the attackers. At Jassar the non-Muslims were again attacked. Finally they reached Ramdas on Indian territory, their numbers considerably attenuated by successive attacks.

Dhavad, a village six miles from Narowal, was attacked by a Muslim mob on September 2, at 9 a.m. The Muslims were armed with firearms, swords, daggers and spears and were accompanied by a Sub-Inspector of Police. The non-Muslims of the village were rounded up and told that they would be killed. They were forced to hand over their cash and ornaments. They were then brought to the bank of the river Ravi, a distance of two miles, and left there. Shortly afterwards the same mob again attacked them and looted all their property. About eighteen girls were kidnapped and the women were stripped and searched. The survivors arranged with two Muslim boatmen to take them across the river. When they were in midstream the boatmen threatened to overturn the boats unless they were paid five hundred rupees and a gold ring. The money was paid and the boats were taken across.

On September 4, some Muslim National Guards entered the house of one Nand Lal in Rupo Chak and shot him dead. The house was then ransacked and plundered. The matter was reported to the Muslim Zaildar, and he promised to exert his influence in preventing the recurrence of such incidents if he were paid a sum of three thousand rupees. The money was paid but on September 15, Chhanga Mal, a moneylender, and the members of his family were murdered at night by the Muslims. Their dead bodies were thrown on a heap of garbage. The Zaildar again demanded a large sum of money for guaranteeing the security of the non-Muslims and the money was paid. On November 5, some police constables arrived and asked the non-Muslims to get

ready to go to Zafarwal. They were told to take only two beddings per family and nothing else. The non-Muslims loaded their belongings on three bullock-carts and left for Zafarwal. The police constables were paid three thousand rupees for escorting them safely. At Zafarwal the non-Muslims were housed in a temple, but the bullock-carts with their belongings were taken to the police station and then removed to the headquarters of the Muslim National Guards. The policemen told the refugees that the bullock-carts contained Pakistan property which could not be taken to India. At midnight a number of Muslims armed with Bren guns and rifles invaded the temple. They seized any cash and jewellery the refugees had hidden on their persons. In the morning the refugees were removed to the Arya Samaj Camp where they were kept until November 13. They were then removed to Sialkot and, on November 16, boarded a goods train bound for India.

Gujranwala District

The March disturbances had no serious repercussions in the Gujranwala District though, in the month of April, the burning of a sweet-seller's shop at Wazirabad caused a great deal of panic in that town. Many residents of Wazirabad left but they came back on receiving assurances of peace and security from the local Muslims. In the second week of August, stabbings of non-Muslims began in the town of Gujranwala. On August 14, a number of houses, shops and factories owned by non-Muslims were set on fire. Then followed a brief lull but the town was, once again, shaken by serious disturbances which spread through all quarters. Muslim hooligans were seen wandering about the streets and looting non-Muslim shops. Trouble increased day by day and, on August 27, a Muslim mob assisted by two constables looted the shops in Bazaar Hari Singh Nalwa. Dr. Tej Bhan, a leading Medical Practitioner, was foully murdered by a Sub-Inspector of Police who first searched his house and then shot him and all members of his family who were at home. Wazirabad fared much worse. Almost the whole of this town was set on fire and the flames were seen for many miles. The town was attacked on August 13, by a large Muslim mob which came from the direction of Nizamabad. Non-Muslim shops and houses were freely looted and then burnt. Wazirabad was the scene of a most ruthless and barbarous attack on a train of refugees proceeding to Jammu. The train was stopped about a mile outside Wazirabad where the track was found to be blocked. A large mob of armed Muslims then

attacked the train and a veritable orgy of loot and murder began. Several hundred non-Muslims were killed in the course of this attack and many women were kidnapped. Almost the entire belongings of the passengers were carried away. It may be mentioned here that Nizamabad, situated a mile from Wazirabad, was a centre of the cutlery cottage industry and large quantities of knives and daggers were sent from this place to various parts of India. Several cases of this deadly merchandise addressed to Muslim League agitators were captured by the police.

Eminabad and Kamoke are important trade and factory centres where non-Muslims owned considerable property. At Eminbad, on August 11, a Hindu, proceeding in a tonga, was foully murdered. His assailants were arrested and sent up to stand their trial. Two days after the partition of the province they were discharged and allowed to return to their village. On their arrival they openly proclaimed that they would not allow any non-Muslim to live in Eminabad. On August 19, a large mob of Muslims with whom were some members of the National Guard began to loot and burn the non-Muslim shops. The grain market was almost completely destroyed. The disturbance gathered volume and, on August 20, there was more looting and burning. The Gurdwara Rohri Sahib was desecrated and set on fire. Some Sikhs in the Gurdwara were murdered. Almost all the factories in Kamoke were set on fire on August 22 and 23. Most of the non-Muslims left the village and in their absence their houses and shops were plundered. Many of those who were left behind were murdered and then burnt by pouring kerosene oil over the corpses. The worst massacre in the district, perhaps, took place at Akalgarh, an important trade centre on the railway line between Wazirabad and Lyallpur. The business and Zemindara interests were all in the hands of non-Muslims who comprised a moiety of the total population. The surrounding villages were chiefly inhabited by Muslims and when the disturbances began the non-Muslims from these villages began to move into Akalgarh in the hope of finding greater security. The number of these refugees soon swelled into thousands and five different refugee camps were set up in Akalgarh. Till September 2, Hindu military was stationed at Akalgarh and conditions remained peaceful. A Baluch regiment then replaced the Hindu military and, within a few days, conditions changed. On September 7, it was announced that all Hindus and Sikhs must surrender their weapons immediately. Extensive searches were

carried out through the town and the refugee camps, and even ordinary knives were taken away. Two retired Sikh Subedars of the Army protested against this order. They were attacked by the Baluch soldiers and murdered. Their dead bodies were thrown into the canal. The search for weapons provided the police and the army with an excuse for taking away all the cash and jewellery in possession of the refugees. Boxes and trunks were rifled. Women were stripped naked and molested. The weapons collected were placed in a large heap in front of the police station and were then distributed to the Muslims who came in from the neighbouring villages. That evening a large mob of Muslims, assisted by Baluch soldiers, attacked the refugee camp in the Government High School. The men were separated from the women and then about forty girls were selected and told to march out. Some of the girls resisted and were shot. The mob attacked the men and killed several of them. The refugee camp in Sanatan Dharam Mandir was attacked next. Some parents, knowing the designs of the Muslims, tried to conceal their young girls by wrapping them up inside their beddings. The girls were discovered, taken out and led up to a room on the top storey where they were raped by Baluch soldiers. Some girls jumped into a well to save themselves from such foul treatment. The Muslim mob looted the refugees and killed several hundreds of them. The dead bodies were carried in trucks to the canal bank and thrown in the water. A young girl was found dying on the roadside four days later. She had been raped by several Muslims and then left for dead. The Sub-Inspector of Police, Akalgarh, issued directions that no Muslim should grind wheat for the refugees or sell any provisions to them. The looted property from the refugee camps and houses was carried away in military trucks. The Muslim residents of the neighbouring villages took away a share of the loot in bullock-carts. The arrival of the Dogra military, on September 8, saved the town and the refugees from total annihilation. The refugees were finally evacuated at the end of October. It is estimated that over two thousand people were killed in Akalgarh on September 7 and 8, and about two hundred girls were abducted.

Towards the end of September, Kamoke witnessed a most gruesome attack on a refugee train carrying non-Muslims from West Punjab. The train contained over three thousand refugees, most of whom had been placed in open cattle wagons. At Kamoke the train was made to stop for a whole night as it was said that

the track had been damaged. During the night parties of Muslims were seen moving about near the train, and by the morning, a large mob had collected. At 12 noon, the train was attacked and almost the entire body of passengers was killed. About six hundred young girls were carried away. One of them, who was afterwards recovered, was taken to village Pandorian by a Kashmiri who kept her in his house for five days. The girl's story is that the Kashmiri tried to kill her. "I had 16 *tolas* of gold sewn into my under-garments. I requested him not to kill me and offered him the gold which he took and made over to his brother. In the house, the Kashmiri raped me and then suggested that I should marry his nephew Din Mohammad. Owing to the shock and the atrocities my brain became unbalanced. A month later Gurkha military came to the village. I was concealed in a Muslim refugee's house. For some hours the Gurkha military searched for me in vain and went away. Three months later the military again came to the village. Neither the Kashmiri nor Din Mohammad were in the house. I had been concealed in a corn bin. The soldiers were going to leave when a Muslim woman told them of my whereabouts. The soldiers returned to the house in which I was concealed and hearing their foot-steps I came out and fell down senseless." The abducted girls who had the good fortune to be recovered and restored to their relations have related many horrible stories of the atrocities to which they were subjected.

The town of Hafizabad was attacked on August 24, and looting and arson on a very large scale took place.

In the rural areas disturbances on a large and extensive scale took place throughout the district. Whole villages were ransacked and the non-Muslim residents compelled to embrace Islam. Rumours of an imminent attack made the non-Muslim residents of Talwandi leave their village. Those who were left behind were forcibly converted to Islam. In Wanike-Tarar the Sub-Inspector announced that all Sikhs had been declared disloyal by the Pakistan Government. He said he had instructions to drive out all the Sikhs from the village. The village was raided soon after this and all the Sikhs were mercilessly butchered. Their dead bodies were carried to the river Chenab, in a truck, and thrown in the stream. The Sikh houses and shops were plundered. The Muslims undertook to spare the Hindus but the next day they were told that they must be converted to Islam. All the Hindus, numbering about two hundred, were taken to the local

The massacre of non-Muslims at Kamoke Railway Station

The massacre of non-Muslims at Kamoke Railway Station

mosque and converted. Thatta Parothian was attacked and burnt on August 26. Many of the residents lost their lives in the fire. Looting continued throughout the night and hundreds of cattle, belonging to the non-Muslims, were driven away. The Hindus of Kale Ki Mandi were told, on August 26, that they would be murdered unless they embraced Islam. They agreed to this but refused to hand over their girls to the Muslims. On this the Muslims attacked them, killing ten and injuring about fifty. On August 27, two lorries carrying Muslim police and military arrived in the village. They joined the Muslim mob in a brutal attack on the Hindus, entered Hindu houses and dishonoured Hindu women. Some women committed suicide by taking poison. In village Jokhian, a house in which a number of Hindus were locked up was set on fire. The Hindus escaped through one of the doors but they were pursued and put to death. At Joara, while a peace committee of Hindus and Muslims was deliberating and devising means of preserving peace, a Muslim mob attacked the village. A Sub-Inspector of Police, police constables and Baluch soldiers accompanied the mob. Some Sikhs were killed and many houses were looted. A second attack was made on the village a fortnight later. On this occasion, thirty-five non-Muslims were killed and the rest of the houses were looted. The remaining non-Muslims were converted to Islam. Baddoki Gosain was attacked and looted on August 24. Non-Muslim refugees of Madiala Panach and Mandi Sukhoke were attacked on the way by Muslim mobs. A number of people lost their lives and many young women were abducted. The attack on Chak Ghazi by a Muslim mob was averted by the efforts of Fateh Mohammad Lambardar and Mian Rehmat Khan. These two men escorted the non-Muslims of their village safely to Akalgarh. In Chak Bhatti there was a difference of opinion among the local Muslims. Some of them wanted to exterminate the "*kafirs*" while others were of the opinion that they should be converted and then allowed to stay unmolested. The timely arrival of a Hindu Army officer with a number of trucks saved the situation and the non-Muslim residents were evacuated from the village.

Gujrat District

The district of Gujrat touches Kashmir State along its northern boundary. The Grand Trunk Road passes through the headquarter town of Gujrat. The district is a predominantly Muslim one and its population at the census of 1941 was recorded

as 85.58 per cent Muslim. Gujrat, Lalamusa, Malakwal, Mandī Baha-ud-Din, Dinga and Kunjah are among the important places in the district.

There were no disturbances in the district during the month of March. In June, after the Mountbatten Plan had been announced, the attitude of the Muslims towards the Hindus and Sikhs began to change and, with the advance of time, the minorities became apprehensive of their safety. Many began to leave the urban and the rural areas and, before the 15th of August, a large number of Hindus and Sikhs had left the town of Gujrat and some of the villages. On August 12, three Hindus were stabbed in Gujrat, in broad daylight. This spread panic through the town. A day or two later, some non-Muslims who were travelling by train were murdered and their dead bodies were thrown out. It was said that Muslim butchers had been specially engaged for the purpose. More incidents of this type occurred and travelling became unsafe. The railway authorities cancelled a number of trains as adequate arrangements for the safety of the passengers could not be made. At about this time, Muslim refugees from East Punjab began to arrive and, on August 18, after *Id* prayers, a rumour was spread through the town that a large mob of Sikhs from the neighbouring villages of Tahli Sahib and Shadiwal was preparing to attack the Muslims. The rumour was wholly baseless but it provided the Muslims with an excuse to collect in large numbers and make an attack on the non-Muslim localities. All the shops in the Railway Station Bazaar belonging to the non-Muslims were looted and burnt. The disturbance spread to other parts of the town and Bazaar Sarafan was also plundered and burnt. On August 19, a group of Muslims entered the Lakshmi Narain Temple, threw out the images and pictures and set fire to the building. Khanna Gurdwara, situated near the railway station, was similarly desecrated. The Punjab National Bank, the Grain Market and the Imperial Bank were burnt. About one hundred and fifty non-Muslims were killed in these two days, and a number of girls were kidnapped. A refugee camp for non-Muslims was set up, while looting in the town continued. Travelling by train became more and more unsafe and every train, arriving from the north-west, was found to contain dead bodies of Hindus and Sikhs. Trains were stopped on the way and attacked by mobs of Muslim hooligans. The neighbouring village of Tahli Sahib was a predominantly Sikh village and the residents

offered a certain amount of resistance to the Muslim attack on August 18. Many of them lost their lives in the conflict that followed. The attack was, however, repulsed and two men who were clean-shaven offered to go to Amritsar and get military assistance. When they reached the Wazirabad Railway Station they found that all non-circumcised passengers were being put to death. They, therefore, came back to their village. They made another attempt and reached Wazirabad by road. They were able to see a Hindu Army officer who promised to arrange for their evacuation. A few days later, a foot convoy under military escort was arranged. Some members of this convoy lost their lives in a stream which was then in spate. When the convoy arrived at Wazirabad all men and women were searched by members of the National Guard and deprived of all their valuables. After their departure the Gurdwara Tahli Sahib was looted and burnt.*

At Lalamusa also a rumour about Sikhs preparing themselves for an attack was spread through the town and, immediately afterwards, a Muslim mob, assisted by members of the National Guard, began setting fire to the shops and houses of non-Muslims. Gurdwara Singh Sabha was desecrated and burnt. The Granthi and the members of his family were murdered. The Gurdwara in Santpur was also burnt and its Granthi killed. This happened on August 18. On the following day a Madras military contingent arrived and prevented further mischief. The Madrasis remained in Lalamusa until October 2, and, during their stay, no untoward incident occurred. They were then replaced by a Baluch regiment. There were many complaints of harassment by the Baluch military and some women from the refugee camp were molested by them. The houses vacated by non-Muslims were looted and occupied. Evacuation from the camp began on October 11. Before evacuation non-Muslims were searched and deprived of their valuables.

The events in Malakwal followed a similar course. Here, too, a rumour of a contemplated attack by the Sikhs of village Shumari was heard and the Sub-Inspector left Malakwal to enquire into its truth. In his absence, the local Muslims began to loot non-Muslim houses and shops. Forty shops in Rail Bazaar were destroyed in this manner on August 19. On August 28, a mob of several thousand Muslims attacked Malakwal and burnt a major

* This incident was deposed to by one hundred and thirty-nine witnesses.

portion of the town. Several hundred non-Muslims were killed. The survivors were escorted to Mandi Baha-ud-Din where a large camp had been set up.

Mandi Baha-ud-Din was an important trade centre. It was a railway station, the headquarters of a *thana* and the seat of a Subordinate Judge and an Honorary Magistrate. Three Boys' High Schools and a Girls' High School were located in the town. On August 15, Hindus took part in a public function arranged to celebrate the establishment of Pakistan and offered their co-operation to the new Government. On August 18, the local Muslims spread a rumour that a large mob of Sikhs was preparing to attack them. That evening a number of villages, including Kunjah and Jalalpur Jattan, were attacked by Muslim mobs. There was Hindu military in Mandi Baha-ud-Din and nothing untoward occurred in the town until August 27 on which date Hindu military was replaced by Muslim military, in charge of one Major Aslam. According to all the available evidence this officer did everything in his power to safeguard the lives of the non-Muslims, and the local Hindus offered to present him with a gold shield if they remained unmolested. In the early hours of September 1, the noise of drums was heard and soon afterwards a mob of Muslims opened an attack on the Hindu and Sikh houses in Mohalla Rampura. With the mob were a number of Pathan labourers who had come from the Rasul Head Works. The military resisted this attack and one Pathan was shot dead. Major Aslam then sent a wireless message to Jhelum and a contingent of Hindu military with six tanks arrived in Mandi Baha-ud-Din and saved further loss of non-Muslim lives. Conditions were, however, far from satisfactory in the refugee camp where several thousand non-Muslims were living. The food and drink supplied to the non-Muslims in the camp were poisoned on several occasions and this caused considerable loss of life. Reports regarding the number of casualties vary but it would be safe to say that nearly a thousand persons lost their lives from food poisoning.

On September 5, a huge Muslim mob attacked the town of Dinga. Over a thousand non-Muslims are alleged to have been massacred and about three hundred girls were kidnapped.* A A witness saw dead bodies lying naked in the streets, some of

* Some of these were later recovered.

them had been horribly mutilated. The town was looted and a large portion of it was burnt down. A lorry containing Gurkha soldiers arrived on the night of September 7 and the survivors were evacuated to a camp. On September 9, some Muslim Army men went to the camp and carried away a considerable quantity of cash and ornaments. On September 19, the refugees were taken to the camp at Mandi Baha-ud-Din. According to the available evidence members of the National Guards and the police took part in the massacre and looting.

Village Kunjah was similarly attacked on August 18. The shops of the non-Muslims were broken open and looted and then the entire bazaar was burnt down. The town was completely sacked. About three hundred and fifty non-Muslims were murdered and about one hundred and fifty Sikhs were forcibly converted to Islam. About twenty girls were kidnapped. Village Bhairowal was attacked on August 31. The shops and houses were looted and about one hundred and eighty persons were murdered. The survivors agreed to accept Islam but when they were being escorted to Haveli Manu Basal, a neighbouring *abadi*, they were set upon by a Muslim mob and thrown into the river Chenab. Nearly a hundred girls were carried away. The same Muslim mob then went to the neighbouring village of Makhdoom and killed a number of non-Muslims. They carried away thirty-five women. Karianwala, Daulat Nagar, Gakhar Kalan, Gobindpura, Kalu and Jalalpur Jattan were also subjected to very severe attacks and the loss of life in these villages was considerable. The residents of Barsala, Ram Garhwal, Gotriala, Sudewal, Dhal, Lahri, Ara, Samithal, Dhamthal and Alamgarh, near the border of Jammu State, were frequently attacked while proceeding to seek refuge in the State territory. Their villages were looted and burnt.* The happenings in Chak No. 26, a Sikh village, are best described in the words of its Lambardar Sant Singh, an extract from whose statement is given below:

"Chak No. 26 was a Sikh Chak colonised by Sikh Rajputs of the Rathor clan, popularly known as Labana Sikhs. It was populated by two thousand Sikhs and a few Muslim *kamins* or tenants. The adjoining villages of Chak No. 23, Chak No. 25, Chak No. 35, Jara, Sat Basal, Chak No. 11, Mona, Chak Makoh, etc., were all predominantly Muslim. Prior to the formation of

* In the table in Appendix II, which is by no means exhaustive, are mentioned a number of other villages in which the attacks were most severe.

Pakistan, the relations between the Sikhs and the Muslims were cordial and friendly. Between June 3 and August 15, the Muslim attitude towards the Sikhs steadily changed. They felt that the Sikhs were aggrieved and would not put up with Pakistan. The agitation by the Sikhs that they would not be content with partition unless the boundary were demarcated along the river Chenab greatly annoyed the Muslims and they began looking upon the Sikhs as the stumbling block in their way. We, the Sikhs, were undoubtedly aggrieved as the result of the partition but we trusted the professions of friendship by the Muslims and their pretentions to protect the minorities.

"In order to ward off an attack in the event of any disturbance, the villagers had taken the following precautions. They had built a surrounding wall 7 feet high round the village *abadi* which extended over two squares of land and a ditch, 4 feet deep beyond the wall. There were four openings in the wall with *pucca* doors. A Shahidi Jatha had been organized with Jethedars and duties were assigned to them. We had sent out spies into the Muslim villages to find out their plans.

"On August 15, a meeting was convened by Jahan Khan, an M.L.A. and a prominent Muslim League worker of Basal village. The Sub-Inspector of Miana Gondal was also in the meeting. On August 16, one Mohammad Shafi, a compounder of the Civil Hospital, who held me in great respect, informed me that it was not possible for the Sikhs to remain in the district any longer. We sent Sant Singh, Dewan Singh, Gurmukh Singh, Budh Singh, Lambardars and Giani Takhat Singh, Thakar Singh and Bhag Singh to Mona, the Army Remount Depot, to inform the Officer Commanding about the schemes of the Muslims and ask for assistance in the event of an attack. The officer promised his help.

"On August 17, friendly messages came from the neighbouring villages that our chak was in danger. On that day, Prem Singh Nihang, who had lands in Chak No. 21, was returning home with his two sons, aged 12 and 13, when he was attacked by a number of Muslims. The two boys ran into the *rakh* close by but Prem Singh was set upon and shot dead. When the boys came to our village and told us of the attack I went with the Sub-Inspector of Police who had come to our village by chance to Chak No. 21, and found Prem Singh's dead body lying on the road. The Sub-Inspector then went away. On the night between August 17 and 18, we heard the beating of drums, which was the signal for

the attack. Large crowds of Muslims were seen collecting in the neighbouring villages.

" We organized our defence in the following way. Two hundred men of the Akal Regiment were posted in batches of fifty each on the four gates in the wall. All the women were armed with *kirpans*. They wore male dress, i.e., turbans on their heads and *salwars* round their waists. *Thalis* (metal dishes) were tied on the chest by way of shields. One hundred women were detailed to supply water to the defenders. The men were divided in two parts. Half were placed in front of the women and half behind them. The building of the village Gurdwara is a tall one, and a Sikh was posted on top with a telescope. The Muslim mob was seen to possess ladders, camels and spades besides all kinds of firearms and leathal weapons.

" According to our plan we had to remain on the defensive, but when we saw that the Muslim mob was very large and strong we changed our tactics. We also began to beat the *dhol maru* (battle drum) and came out of our fortress. This made the Muslims think, and Jahan Khan sent us a message through Mohammad Din Lohar that we should send four of our men to talk to four of their men and come to terms. The two parties met half-way and Jahan Khan said, 'It is Muslim Raj now. Pakistan has been established. We are the rulers and the Hindus *ryot*. The Sikhs will have to fly the Pakistan flag and obey the orders and injunctions of the Muslim Government and pay them land revenue and other dues.' We replied that we would obey all just and honourable orders but nothing beyond that. In reply to our question Jahan Khan said that he had heard of Sikh attacks on several villages but that the news was found to be false. He then agreed to go back and the mob retreated.

" Mr. Lich, who was the Commanding Officer posted at the Mona Remount Depot, now arrived on the scene with a contingent of sepoys, but returned on seeing that the Muslim mob was retreating.

" We again sent four men (including myself) on horseback to Mona Depot to ask for an escort to evacuate us from the village. We were met by a number of Muslims on the way and told to return home. We said that we were going to see the Police officers in Chak No. 28. A little further we met another group of seven Muslims who tried to attack us. We opened fire on them and

they ran away. We finally reached Mona and saw the officer in charge. He gave us four trucks and these, doing two trips daily, began to transport the men of our village. We were not allowed to take any luggage as there was no room in the trucks. We could only take a few clothes, rations and ornaments.

"On August '24, the Sub-Inspector of Police ordered that further evacuation should stop as the Sikhs and the Sikh military sepoys had burnt alive some Muslims and set their houses on fire. At this stage three hundred men were left in Chak No. 26. They were expected to bring some of the valuable property with them. The Sub-Inspector came to the village with a posse of armed police and stopped the evacuation. The sound of drums was again heard from Muslim villages and the Sikhs formed a *morcha* for their defence. A mob of fifteen hundred Muslims armed with .303 rifles attacked the village in the evening at about 8 p.m. The firing started and went on for a long time. The Sikhs had to take shelter in the Gurdwara. The mob entered the village. Bullets pierced through the walls of the Gurdwara. The Sikhs became desperate and came out to fight. One hundred of them were killed and fifty were injured. The remaining one hundred and fifty escaped and reached Mona. Our houses and the Gurdwara were looted and burnt."

This statement was corroborated by eleven other witnesses.

Montgomery District

The Sikhs had an important stake in the district of Montgomery as their enterprise was mainly responsible for developing the colony area and adding to the agricultural prosperity of the district. The Hindus had an important share in the industrial economy of the district* and these considerations, among many others, were urged before the Boundary Commission in support of the non-Muslim claim to a part of this district, although the Muslims comprised 69 per cent of the total population. The Muslim response to this claim was one of open and bitter hostility, directed towards both Hindus and Sikhs but, more particularly, towards the Sikhs. This increased after the announcement of the Radcliffe Award and a most determined and sustained attempt was made to eliminate the Sikh element from the district. The Sikh villages were subjected to ruthless attacks ; men, women and children were brutally slaughtered and their houses were reduced to ashes ; those who fled from their burning homes were pursued

* All the thirty-one joint stock companies in the district were controlled by non-Muslims.

or waylaid by the murderous hoards who infested the whole countryside. Day after day foot caravans of refugees, on the way to the Dominion of India, were attacked ; men and women were butchered, young girls were carried away and property was looted. The progress of trains carrying non-Muslim refugees was delayed, there were frequent and quite inexplicable halts on the way, food and drink were denied to the passengers and mobs of armed hooligans attacked them at different stages of the journey. The Muslim military escorts adopted an apathetic, if not acutally hostile, attitude while the non-Muslim escorts found themselves powerless against greater numbers, though in some instances they were successful in driving away the assailants. There was very heavy loss of life in the district and numerous cases of mass conversion.

Upto August 10, Mr. Said Zaman held the office of Deputy Commissioner and till then the district remained peaceful. According to general opinion, his impartiality and firmness kept the unruly elements in check. He was succeeded by Raja Hassan Akhtar, an avowed Muslim Leaguer, whose arrival appeared to encourage the Muslim gangsters. A few days after he took charge, an alarm was raised in the town of Montgomery that some Muslim girls had been molested by Sikh boys. The basis of this outcry was that a Muslim girl who had purchased some sweets from a Sikh boy had refused to pay for them. Muslim *goondas* began to collect and rioting spread through the city. Three Sikhs and two Hindus were stabbed to death. Curfew was imposed but, the moment it was lifted, twenty-four non-Muslims going to the railway station were set upon and killed. On this, curfew was re-imposed. On the night of August 19, two Muslims, walking in the street during curfew hours, were fatally shot by Sikh soldiers on patrol duty. The next morning a huge funeral procession was taken out through the main streets, and it was openly said that the deaths of these two Muslims would be adequately avenged. The Saw Mill of Dewan Chand and a number of shops in the bazaar were set fire to. Hooligans then looted Okara Mill and the Delhi Cloth Mills retail shop. A Hindu Magistrate, posted at Montgomery, at the time, attended a meeting in the Deputy Commissioner's room on August 24. The Deputy Commissioner openly said that all Sikhs must be shot or killed at sight and that the Hindus could, for the time being, be spared. Some Muslim refugees from East Punjab had, by now, arrived in Montgomery, and they were located in a camp near the railway

station. Their presence made it impossible for any non-Muslim to reach the railway station with any degree of safety. The non-Muslims, waiting for trains at the railway station, were frequently attacked and, on August 25, they were fired upon. Muslim policemen were seen taking part in the attack. Conditions in the non-Muslim camp were extremely distressing. Provisions were scarce and frequently unobtainable. In one case, fruit sold to refugees was found to be poisoned. The Muslim guard did not permit water to be carried to the camp, nor were the refugees allowed to bring it from the canal which ran at a distance of a few hundred feet. They were frequently forced to get drinking water from a small water-course in which carcasses of dead dogs had been thrown by the Muslims.

The non-Muslim policemen were all disarmed under the orders of the Superintendent of Police on August 14, and they were kept in a *serai* near the railway station as virtual prisoners. The Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police announced that they could not give any protection to the non-Muslim minorities. Condition in the town made it impossible for the non-Muslims to live there. A well in Sabzi Mandi was full of dead bodies and the stench emanating from it proclaimed the fate in store for the non-Muslims. It was not till August 25, when Mr. Belcher, Commissioner, Multan Division, paid a visit to Montgomery that arrangements for the evacuation of some of the non-Muslims by train were made.

Hujra Shah Mukim was attacked on August 23, by a Muslim mob assisted by a Sub-Inspector of Police and Muslim military. A wholesale slaughter and burning of the houses of non-Muslim residents ensued. The frenzy of the mob prompted many women to commit suicide by jumping into burning houses. The depth of suffering and the anguish resulting from this brutal attack can be assessed by the fact that many men took the extreme step of putting their own women and children to death, to save them from a worse fate at the hands of the hooligans. One man was seen throwing his infant son, four days old, into the flames. Out of a total population of nearly a thousand non-Muslims, only one hundred and sixty survived. At village Kasowal a she-buffalo was slaughtered by the Muslims in full view of the Hindu residents. A protest merely made the Muslims more aggressive in their attitude. The Sub-Inspector of Police tried to pacify the two communities and, for the time being, a clash was averted. A few days later, a Muslim mob accompanied by members of the

Pakistan Army and a police constable arrived in the village. These men came in military trucks, on horseback and on foot. They laid a siege around the village and then attacked it from all sides. For a time the non-Muslims defended themselves but many of them were shot down by the Muslim soldiers. The mob then ran wild and began an indiscriminate slaughter of non-Muslims. Some, in their frenzy, impaled young children and infants on spears and flourished them in front of their mothers. Nearly four hundred Hindus and Sikhs perished in the course of this assault. Many young girls were carried away by the raiders. While this holocaust was still in progress, a contingent of Hindu and Sikh soldiers, on patrol duty, arrived and, on seeing them, the mob dispersed and ran away.

Pakpattan was attacked and looted on August 23 and 24. The next day a large convoy of non-Muslims left the town. The convoy was stopped by the police at a distance of two furlongs and detained for several hours, during which time the non-Muslims were searched and looted of a large part of their valuables. Proceeding further, they found dead bodies of non-Muslims strewn all along the route. Near Chak No. 22, they saw a lorry lying on its side with the dead body of its Hindu driver near by. A little further, they saw dead bodies of twenty-five non-Muslims by the roadside. In Chak Daula Bala the Zaildar announced that he had received orders from the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police to exterminate the Sikhs in his zail. He said that this was merely the price which the Sikhs had to pay for what their co-religionists had done to the Muslims in East Punjab. He offered safety to the Hindus if they agreed to embrace Islam. News of an attack on a neighbouring village where thirty non-Muslims were murdered was received in Chak Daula Bala and this argument persuaded the non-Muslims to accept conversion. The non-Muslims were finally evacuated by Hindu military on September 29. The non-Muslim residents of Chak No. 123/E.B. loaded their belongings on bullock-carts and left the village. They were stopped on the way by the police and told to go back. The following morning the village was surrounded by a huge mob of Muslims. The villagers ran to the police station in the hope of finding shelter there. They were pursued and many who had lagged behind were murdered. The village was then looted and burnt down. The Sub-Inspector advised the non-Muslims to go to Arifwala. On the way the convoy was again attacked and some young girls were carried

away. The timely arrival of some Dogra soldiers on patrol duty saved the remaining non-Muslims and they were escorted to Arifwala and thence to Ferozepore. Chak No. 44 was attacked by a Muslim mob on August 22, and the non-Muslims escaped to Chak No. 47. On August 28, Chak No. 47 was attacked by a large mob, assisted by some Police officials and Muslim soldiers. The mob made a large breach in the canal embankment and the whole village was flooded. The non-Muslims resisted the attack for a time but nearly a thousand of them perished. Many young women were kidnapped.

The non-Muslim convoy from village Kandianwala was attacked just outside the village on August 19, and ten persons were killed. On August 22, a similar convoy from Mandi Hira Singh Wala was attacked. Nine non-Muslims were killed and almost the entire property of the convoy looted. On August 23, non-Muslims, living in village Bhila Gulab Singh, were attacked. Over a hundred persons were killed. On August 24, a large caravan which left Chak No. 4/14L with bullock-carts and cattle was attacked by a Muslim mob accompanied by Muslim military. The attack resulted in many deaths and the looting of considerable property. There were attacks on convoys on August 25 at Rattake, and on August 26 at Arifwala where there was an exchange of shots between the non-Muslim escort and some Muslim soldiers. The Canal Head Works at Sulemanke, which became a bottleneck for the refugees crossing over into the Indian Dominion, was the scene of numerous attacks by Muslim mobs. In some parts of the district, the road runs parallel and close to the railway line and, on at least one occasion, Baluch military travelling by train fired upon a foot convoy killing many non-Muslims.

There were three very serious attacks on trains in the district. On August 15, a number of non-Muslims left Okara by the Sind Express. This train was attacked at Harappa and of about three hundred non-Muslims who were in two bogies only twelve survived. The train from Pakpattan was attacked near Basirpur Railway Station and many persons were murdered. On September 26, an east-bound train arrived at Pakpattan. The Mahratta escort was replaced by a Baluch escort. After several hours' delay at Pakpattan, the train left at 11 p.m. It was stopped a mile beyond the station and a Muslim mob, shouting "*Ya Ali, Ya Ali,*" attacked it. About four hundred non-Muslims were killed in the course of this assault and over a hundred girls were carried

away. Almost the entire property of the passengers was looted. The train did not start till 6 a.m. next morning. In the middle of October, a train arrived at Montgomery at 9 p.m. and was then driven back a distance of two miles and stopped. In the darkness of the night, a mob of Muslims came out of the cotton fields on either side of the railway track and attacked the passengers who were travelling in open goods wagons. There was considerable loss of life. Almost every east-bound train passing through Montgomery or Pakpattan was attacked at some stage of its journey. Some of these attacks took place in the area of Lahore District and some of the worst massacres were witnessed at Raiwind Railway Station.

Lyallpur District

The district of Lyallpur was the most prosperous and productive of the colony areas and one of the richest in the whole province. The cotton crop made a substantial contribution to the wealth of Lyallpur, and apart from adding to the prosperity of the agriculturists it was responsible for the establishment of several industrial concerns. There were many important grain markets in the district, e.g., Lyallpur, Jaranwalla, Gojra, Tandlianwala, all of which were controlled and run by non-Muslims. Large amounts of Hindu capital had been sunk in setting up cotton ginning and weaving factories and flour and sugar mills. On the agricultural side a very large share of the holdings in the colony area was in the hands of the Sikhs who contributed the major portion of the land revenue. So extensive were the financial and proprietary interests of the non-Muslims* in this district that even after the enforcement of the Radcliffe Award, when Lyallpur became part of Pakistan, and when the life and property of the minorities were seen to be in jeopardy, the non-Muslims did not migrate as readily as from some of the other districts of the Punjab. They lingered on, hoping that the state of madness would soon pass away and the return of normal conditions would enable them to live peaceful lives. They received assurances of protection from the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Hamid, whose impartial

* The Sikhs owned 75 per cent of the total holdings and, in the colony areas, they paid 80 per cent of the land revenue. The non-Muslims controlled sixty joint stock companies as against two such companies controlled by Muslims; of the seventy-two factories in the district fifty-seven were owned by non-Muslims. The figures of the taxes paid by the Muslims and non-Muslims were

	Non-Muslims Rs. (lakhs)	*Muslims* Rs. (lakhs)
Property tax	1.4	0.2
Sales tax	3.0	0.1
Income-tax	59.5	5.0

and helpful attitude kept the lawless elements in check for a considerable time. Unqualified tributes are paid to his indefatigable energies in this direction and large numbers of refugees have expressed the opinion that, but for his exertions, the loss of non-Muslim life would have been much greater. The emotional wave of communal frenzy, however, proved too strong in the end, and the arrival of large numbers of Muslim refugees from East Punjab who had suffered the retaliatory wrath of the Sikhs made it impossible to preserve the safety of the non-Muslims. The Sikhs, in particular, were singled out and made to pay heavily for the crimes of their co-religionists in Amritsar, Ferozepore, Ludhiana and Jullundur. Lyallpur witnessed three horrific holocausts and, at Jaranwala and Gojra, gruesome tragedies of murder and rapine were enacted. In the rural areas, village after village was attacked by Muslim mobs, assisted, in many cases, by Muslim military and police personnel. Foot and lorry convoys were held up and the travellers subjected to ruthless and inhuman barbarities. An analysis of the evidence recorded shows that, in all, seventy-three different villages and towns were attacked and there were ninety distinct major incidents. In addition, on thirty-nine different occasions, foot convoys on lorries were attacked. The total loss of life was considerable and the value of property, looted or destroyed, ran into several crores of rupees.

The first major incident in the district was a mass attack on Tandlianwala, an important grain market and a police station. There was a large concentration of non-Muslims in Tandlianwala, drawn from the local residents and from the neighbouring villages. On August 26, a huge Muslim mob attacked the Sikh Gurdwara lying on the outskirts of the town. The Gurdwara was burnt and razed to the ground. In it perished many Sikhs who had taken shelter there. Two days later, a larger mob attacked the town, in the afternoon. A large house in Ward No. 6 was burnt down. A gate erected in front of Ward No. 4 was stoned and demolished. It is estimated that over two thousand persons were killed during the course of this attack and many young girls were kidnapped. A small batch of Hindu troops under the command of a Sikh officer arrived at midnight and tried to drive away the raiders. The troops were attacked and the Sikh officer lost his life. The next morning the surviving non-Muslims were escorted to Lyallpur.

Jaranwala was attacked on September 8, by a large Muslim mob accompanied by Muslim police and military who fired on the non-Muslims during the course of the assault. The attack continued through the night and large numbers of non-Muslims were done to death. Their property was looted and many of their girls were carried away in trucks. A witness saw pools of blood and dead bodies lying in the streets. The next morning, the Muslims announced that Sikhs would not be allowed to live in Jaranwala. On hearing this, many Sikhs had their beards cut as they believed that a Hindu appearance would ensure their safety. Large numbers of them took shelter in the Gurdwara, and the building was stoned several times. On September 12, the non-Muslims formed a caravan and left the town. They were searched and looted of their valuables. The caravan was attacked and many persons lost their lives. In this attack the Baluch military escort is alleged to have taken a prominent part. A refugee camp had been set up at Jaranwala and conditions in this camp were extremely distressing. The water taps were closed and the refuse of the town was thrown near it. Provisions were scarce and unobtainable and an epidemic of cholera which broke out in the camp took a toll of several lives.

The Hindu military, stationed at Kamalia to protect the non-Muslims, was replaced, on September 1, by Muslim troops. Nawab Saadat Ali Khan and a number of other Muslim Zemindars of the *ilaqa* made very gallant efforts to protect the Hindu and Sikh residents and offered their assistance. The town was attacked on September 6 by a huge Muslim mob. It is said that ammunition was given to this mob by some Muslim soldiers who arrived in Kamalia by a refugee train. The mob invaded the whole town, attacked the Khalsa High School, the Gurdwara Prem Sati, Arya Putri Pathshala and the house of Bahadur Chand Zemindar where non-Muslims had collected. In the course of a determined attack, made by the Muslims, large numbers of Hindus and Sikhs perished. Many young women were kidnapped. On September 7, a Hindu Army officer arrived with two military trucks to evacuate members of his family. He had an armed escort with him and the non-Muslims of Kamalia begged him to stay and lead them to a place of safety. The officer had a small military escort which was quite inadequate to protect a convoy of several thousands. He, therefore, left. Deprived of this avenue of escape the non-Muslims despaired of surviving the bitter attack. The next day, however, Nawab Saadat Ali Khan appealed

to the good sense of the Muslims. It is said that he went to them with folded hands and his turban round his neck and asked them to spare the non-Muslims. The fury of the mob had abated and they desisted from continuing their brutal attack. The non-Muslims were, a few days later, evacuated in military trucks and refugee trains.

Gojra was attacked on September 9 by a Muslim mob assisted by Muslim soldiers. About a hundred Sikhs who had taken shelter in the local Gurdwara were murdered. The non-Muslim shops, houses and factories were pillaged. The non-Muslims of Toba Tek Singh were disarmed on September 4, and the next day a Muslim mob attacked the town. The gates of the Gurdwara, where a number of Sikhs had taken shelter, were broken down. Some Sikh residents escaped by wearing women's clothes and removing their beards. The town was subjected to wholesale looting. The inmates of the local refugee camp had to pay large sums of money to the Muslim military in charge. Despite this, neither their life nor the honour of their womenfolk could be assured. On September 6, a foot caravan which started from the town was attacked by a Muslim mob and the Baluch military escort. A non-Muslim refugee train which arrived at Toba Tek Singh was attacked and over a thousand passengers were murdered. Many young women were kidnapped. The Sikh Assistant Station Master of Bhalike and his father-in-law were murdered at the railway station. A young woman of his family was carried away.

Arauti witnessed a most horrible holocaust in which a large number of non-Muslims lost their lives. Syed Nasir Ali Shah, an ex-Unionist member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly who had joined the Muslim League in June, took a prominent part in this incident. A large number of non-Muslims from the neighbouring villages, within a radius of six or seven miles, had congregated at Arauti and Syed Nasir Ali Shah, at first, assured them that they would not be molested. He advised them not to go to the refugee camp and, when conditions in the neighbourhood began to deteriorate, he told them to accept Islam if they valued their lives. On September 12, a large number of Muslims from the adjoining villages gathered in Arauti and made an attack on the non-Muslims in the afternoon. Large numbers of them were killed and the killing continued through the night. The next morning several fires were lit and the dead bodies were burnt. Even the wounded who were alive were not spared and many of

them were burnt alive. Some non-Muslims had sought shelter in the houses of local Muslims. These were combed out and put to death. Many young girls attempted suicide by jumping into wells. Some of them were rescued and carried away. The entire non-Muslim property was then pooled and divided among the rioters. It is said that Syed Nasir Ali Shah received a large share of this loot. In a neighbouring village, Sandilianwali, about six hundred non-Muslims had sought shelter. Syedani Anwar Bibi and her son who wielded a great deal of influence in the village refused to permit an attack on these refugees and, be it said to their credit, they called their followers and escorted the non-Muslims to the refugee camp at Mian Channu safely. Samundri and Khihala Kalan were subjected to severe attacks and large numbers of non-Muslims lost their lives in these villages. In Samundri the dead bodies were carried away in trucks to destroy the evidence of the horrible crime.

At Lyallpur conditions remained comparatively peaceful until the end of September. The Deputy Commissioner strained every nerve to avert an attack on the non-Muslims, of whom a large number had collected in the town. On September 3, while he was holding a meeting of the Magistrates, the dead body of a Sikh was brought in. This spread panic in the town and there were a few stabbing cases. A cotton ginning factory was looted by the Muslim employees. The West Punjab Government were anxious to drive out all non-Muslims and more particularly the Sikhs. On September 5 the Governor, Sir Francis Mudie, had written to Mr. Jinnah: "I am telling everyone that I do not care how the Sikhs get across the border: the great thing is to get rid of them as soon as possible. There is still little sign of the three lakh Sikhs in Lyallpur moving, but in the end they too will have to go."* On September 6, Sir Francis Mudie came to Lyallpur and told the Deputy Commissioner that all Sikhs should be moved to the refugee camp as a preliminary step to their being evacuated to India. This direction appears to have given a lead to the local Muslims and tension in the town increased. The first major incident occurred on the morning of October 1. A large non-Muslim foot convoy from Sargodha was passing through Lyallpur and, when a part of it had crossed the railway level crossing, near Tarkabad, the gates of the crossing were closed. A mob of armed Muslims then fell upon the portion of the convoy left

* See Notes to Chapter III in Appendix I.

behind and began a ruthless massacre. Pandemonium broke out. Screaming women and children began to run hither and thither and the Baluch military escort opened fire upon them. The property loaded in bullock-carts was looted and, as the assault continued through the day the ground was strewn with dead bodies. The Deputy Commissioner recalled the Baluch military in charge of the convoy and deputed a police guard in its place. Soon afterwards a contingent of Gurkha military arrived and led the convoy to safety. The same night an attack was made on the refugee camp in Khalsa College where many of the non-Muslims who had survived the assault on the foot convoy had taken shelter. The Muslim military in charge of the camp took part in the killing and looting. A large number of non-Muslims lost their lives and many young girls were carried away. Men and women were searched for valuables on their persons. The next night the Arya School Refugee Camp was attacked in a similar manner. The Baluch soldiers in charge of this camp had been molesting the inmates for many days. They had frequently searched them for cash and valuables. They used to carry away women at night and rape them. The attack on the night of October 2, however, resulted in a veritable holocaust. The camp was attacked from several sides simultaneously and the Muslim military opened fire on the inmates. All the property in the camp was looted. It is impossible to make an exact estimate of the loss of life occasioned as it is said that large numbers of dead bodies were carried away in military trucks during the night and thrown in the river Chenab. When the Deputy Commissioner arrived in the morning he found a hundred and fifty dead bodies still lying in the camp. The general opinion, however, is that more than two thousand persons in the camp were killed. The Deputy Commissioner replaced the Baluch military by a police guard. This attack was carefully planned and the Agent of the Imperial Bank heard his police guard talking boastfully, in the morning, that the school camp would be attacked in the evening. He did not, however, attach any importance to this talk, otherwise the tragedy might possibly have been averted.

A canal bridge at Saloonijhal in Tehsil Samundri was the scene of persistent attacks on non-Muslim convoys passing over it. Scarcely a single foot convoy was allowed to pass without serious mishap. On September 11, a convoy from Samundri was attacked and sixty persons were killed. The next day a convoy from Kamalia was similarly set upon and nine persons were killed.

Foot caravans from Toba Tek Singh, Chak No. 44, Chak No. 46, Chak No. 531, Chak No. 91, a caravan from Jodha Nagari, another one from Chak No. 293/J.B., a convoy of lorries from Chak No. 203/G.B. and another convoy from Chak No. 360 were attacked at different times. In every case the refugees were looted and their girls were carried away.

The residents of village Tiba Dhak Salha were told on August 23, that their safety lay in departure. The local Zaildar offered to help them in going away to a place of safety. The non-Muslims accordingly collected their more precious belongings and left the village, in a procession, on August 24. They passed Tandlianwala and crossed the river Ravi by boat, intending to go to Okara. Across the river some Muslims met them and told them to return to their village as it was unsafe to go further. The refugees spent the night on the bank of the river. The next morning the Sub-Inspector and the Zaildar, however, assured them that it was inadvisable to return and the more prudent course lay in proceeding on their journey. They gave them an escort of Muslim villagers. Near village Burj Jiwa Khan some Muslim soldiers opened fire on the convoy. The non-Muslims ran back towards the river. The soldiers were joined by a large Muslim mob, armed with deadly weapons, and an attack was launched on the refugees. The stragglers were cut down or shot. Those who reached the riverside safely spent the night in anxious dread, as no boats were available. The next morning the sound of drums was heard and, soon after, the Muslims opened a fresh assault. Many jumped into the river and were drowned. One woman strapped her three children to her waist and entered the river; the two younger children were drowned. Almost the entire convoy was decimated within a few hours. The Muslims carried away many young girls and the property of the caravan. One young girl was taken by the ruffians to village Burj Jiwa Khan. On the way she saw dead bodies lying everywhere in the fields, on the roads and in the canal minors. She was kept at Burj Jiwa Khan for four days in the house of a Muslim. At night she succeeded in escaping but was overtaken and beaten. She jumped into a canal minor and her pursuers, believing her to be drowned, went away. She says, "I swam for a mile or so and then, getting out, went to a village near the canal bank. An old Muslim took pity on me and bandaged my bleeding wounds. The next day he asked me to leave the village. Eleven days later I found myself in my own village, Tiba Dhak Salha. I cannot explain how God helped

me to reach my village." A few other survivors also reached their native village in this manner and were finally evacuated to India.*

A convoy of three trucks carrying passengers from Lyallpur on August 25 was stopped near Sharakpur and attacked. The passengers were made to pay a heavy ransom for their safety, and were then allowed to proceed on their way. Another truck which left Lyallpur on September 27, with twenty-five passengers, was also stopped near Sharakpur. The Muslim driver picked up two Pathan passengers and then drove on. A little further, he left the road which had been breached by recent floods and drove the truck through some fields. A mob of armed Muslims attacked the truck and killed some of the passengers. All the property in the truck was looted and some of the girls were taken away to Sharakpur. They were kept in a house where a number of kidnapped women were already present. Some of the women were later rescued and escorted to India. A convoy of four lorries proceeding to Lahore on October 24, was attacked and looted in a similar manner. The truck containing women was subjected to a thorough search and some of the women were stripped naked to see if they had any valuables on their persons. Some young girls were raped by the roadside. The passengers were then asked to get down and the trucks were driven back to Lyallpur. The next morning a military truck containing some Gurkhas arrived and escorted them to Lahore.

Shahpur District

Shahpur is another colony district though the colonists are drawn not from Central Punjab but from the north-western districts and are, for the most part, Muslim. The non-Muslim population of the district was not more than 15 per cent. There was a sprinkling of Sikh villages but the majority of the non-Muslims were concentrated in the towns and the depots for agricultural produce. Sargodha, Bhera, Khushab, Loon Miani and Bhaironwal were places in which many well-to-do and even wealthy non-Muslims resided. The March riots affected only a few villages in the Shahpur District and were soon suppressed. In Sargodha, the headquarters of the district, there was peace almost throughout. There was however, considerable tension owing to the happenings in the neighbourhood. A peculiar feature

* Foot convoys were attacked near Roshanwala, Khu Burj, Chak No. 27, Tandlianwala, Row Korn Bungalow, Rodo Koro and other places.

of the district was that forcible conversions took place on a very large scale in the rural areas. The Hindus found themselves greatly outnumbered and, when given the offer of conversion to Islam as the price of safety, had no other choice but to submit. In some villages they were able to live in peace after their decision but, when they were evacuated to India under military escort, they had to leave behind all their belongings. Another feature of the district was that in Sargodha a number of false cases were brought against rich and prominent non-Muslims alleging that they owed money to Muslims. Warrants were issued for their arrest and, in some cases, the victims were taken into custody. They could only leave Sargodha on payment of heavy ransoms. Ornaments pawned with non-Muslim *sahukars* were returned without the debts being discharged. In many villages the non-Muslims were not attacked and were told to quit and make room for the Muslims. They were not allowed to take any property with them. In some of the western villages Pathans looted non-Muslim property. Camps were set up near Sargodha and Phulerwan and the conditions in these camps were far from satisfactory. Foodstuffs were not available and at Phulerwan the general complaint was that owing to curfew orders non-Muslims could not even go out to ease themselves although Muslims moved about freely. Except in a few places the killing of non-Muslims was not on a large scale, and the loss of life was not so heavy as in some other districts. The loss of property, however, was considerable.

In Bhaironwal, a Muslim mob attacked the village towards the end of August. The non-Muslims abandoned their houses and shops and took shelter in a Gurdwara. The shops and houses were looted and a mass massacre of the non-Muslims in the Gurdwara followed. The survivors were forcibly converted to Islam and were made to eat beef. The dead bodies were thrown in the river Chenab near by. Mitha Tiwana was attacked on August 19, and the attack continued for four days. The Batra family, who owned several thousand acres of land and possessed eight licensed guns, defended their *mohalla* by mounting guard on the roof of their house. They were, however, deprived of their guns, taken into custody and charged with the offence of attempted murder. This was due to the fact that shots fired by them in self-defence had injured two men. In Khushab there was some trouble in the month of March and the Mahant of the Bairagi shrine was murdered. In August the non-Muslim shops were

looted and many of them were ejected from their houses. Eight non-Muslims left Bhalwal on August 17, with the intention of going to Sargodha. They were attacked and murdered at the railway station by Muslim League National Guards. The residents of Khwaja Ahmad were converted to Islam and robbed of their belongings. They were taken to the Jumma Mosque in Sargodha from where they were rescued by the Gurkha military. In Mandi Warchhan a number of non-Muslims refused conversion. They were promptly murdered. Their dead bodies were then taken to a Hindu temple and burnt. About sixty residents of Raipur left their village with their valuables but they were stopped on the way by the police who searched them and deprived them of their valuables. They proceeded further and were persuaded to return home by two local Muslim Zemindars who gave them assurances of safety. On the way back they were attacked by a Muslim mob who killed several of them and abducted a number of young girls. The residents of Chak Ramdas were saved by the timely arrival of a European military officer when a Muslim mob was preparing to attack them. The massacre of Loon Miani and the events of Bhera can best be described in the words of two witnesses, extracts from whose statements are given below. These statements were chosen because the deponents are simple unsophisticated persons who have given a fair and unadorned account of what occurred and have not hesitated to mention facts in favour of the Muslim officials.

Statement of Lakhmi Das, a labourer, of Loon Miani:

"Malakwal, a town near my town, was reported to have been attacked in the beginning of September and we were feeling nervous. The Sub-Inspector of Police, who was a Mohammedan and had come recently from Khushab or Nowshera, assured us that as long as he was there we would suffer no danger or loss. He had taken the place of a Sikh Sub-Inspector of Police. We, the non-Muslims of Miani, felt satisfied by the assurances given by the Muslim Sub-Inspector. There were three attempts on Miani by Muslim *goondas* of adjoining villages in the first week of September 1947, but the Sub-Inspector beat off these attacks and arrested some of the *goondas* of the assaulting party. The arrested persons were made to sit the whole day at the police station and then released in the evening. The non-Muslims of Miani thought that the Sub-Inspector was a strong man and would really safeguard their interests and protect them. On September 9,

however, drums continued beating the whole night. We felt afraid but the Sub-Inspector told us that there was nothing to fear; the military had arrived and he had police arrangements also and so no harm would come to us. He had also told previously that he was arranging for our evacuation.

"On one side we were hearing drums being beaten and were feeling nervous. On the other hand, there was an assurance by the Sub-Inspector and by the local Muslims who had behaved well so far. Nothing happened that night but on September 10, at about 12 noon, there was a sudden attack on Miani. First, we heard shots being fired and we thought that the military were firing at the mob. But, after a little time, we were astonished to find that the mob of Muslim *goondas* and dacoits, armed with all sorts of weapons, aided by the police constables, a head constable and an Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police who had a cut on his upper lip, and Baluch military, had attacked and were shooting the Hindus indiscriminately. The head constable and the Assistant Sub-Inspector were proclaiming that even a suckling baby would not be spared. The firing continued till 4 p.m. and the non-Muslims were threatened with death if they did not give up their cash and valuables, but, when they handed over their valuables, they were mercilessly beaten, assaulted and murdered. Some babies were even cut into pieces. People were thrown from the house-tops like balls. Young girls were abducted. Their number was about sixty. My daughter-in-law was killed. A granddaughter of mine was also killed. I and my son Krishan Lal were seriously injured and left as dead. In my vicinity about two hundred persons lay dead or injured. In all about nine hundred persons died and four hundred were wounded. Some of the mob were killing and inflicting injuries, some were looting and some were engaged in breaking open locks and doors. When I saw that the dacoits had left, I got up and cried for water. Someone replied that he was coming and shortly afterwards the head constable, Qureshi, and a constable, accompanied by some military men, came and told us that the survivors should come out and that we would be taken to the camp in the house of Jawala Sahai Chadda. We went there and water was supplied to us by one of the constables. Later Qureshi head constable told us that curfew had been relaxed and that we could go home and bring our belongings and luggage. I brought a bedding first and left it in the camp. Then I went again and brought a small trunk and a small bedding

containing some children's clothes and a quilt. This latter load was snatched away by the said Qureshi on the way.

"The Sub-Inspector was not seen the whole day. The Assistant Sub-Inspector asked the able-bodied among us to remove the corpses and we accordingly collected about four hundred by the evening and burnt them. Meanwhile Hindu military accompanied by some Muslim soldiers reached the camp and gave first aid to the injured. The remaining five hundred bodies were collected the next morning and burnt with wood and kerosene oil. We were then transferred to Phulerwan Hospital and from there I, my son and about a hundred others were transferred to the Sargodha Hospital. From Sargodha we have come to the Amritsar Refugee Camp."

The second statement was given by Shrimati Ram Piari, a resident of Bhera:

"On August 20, 1947, a Muslim mob armed with *chhavis, kulharis,* etc., numbering about four or five hundred, entered our street. With the mob were members of the National Guards and the local police. They openly and loudly said that we should vacate the houses and run away; otherwise we would be killed, and that everything lying in our houses belonged to Pakistan. Eight persons in Bhandawali Galli were killed and four or five others were wounded. The Muslims tried to break open our doors and when they could not do so they abused us. They said that they would kidnap our young girls and marry them to Muslims. The sweepers were forbidden to clean our streets and remove the night-soil from our houses. On August 22, we left our houses and reached the railway station. We had to leave all our luggage at home. There was no train that day and on August 24, we again went to the railway station. The lorry-driver, who was a Muslim, charged us five rupees per passenger upto the railway station. The National Guards and the police charged us four rupees each railway fare for Mandi Baha-ud-Din, although the real fare is only ten annas. Only some of us could go on the 24th and the rest, including myself, went on the 25th. During the night the Sikh officer and his non-Muslim subordinates, who formed our escort, undertook to protect us. They remained awake the whole night. On the way the train was stopped as the trunk of a huge tree lay across the line. A Muslim mob attacked us with guns, hatchets etc., shouting "*Allah-o-Akbar.*" The non-Muslim escort defended us and killed many

Muslims. The train reached Mandi Baha-ud-Din at 1-30 p.m. It was very hot and we asked for water. There was none available as the water taps at the station had been closed. Even our babies were not given water and the Muslims said that they were ready to supply us with their urine. A child in our compartment died of thirst. We were taken to a camp one and a half miles from the railway station and here, too, we found that the water taps had been removed. We arranged to get water from the wells by letting down vessels tied to bed-sheets strung together. In the camp the rations were not free and we could only buy three *chhattaks* every other day. The non-Muslims in Mandi Baha-ud-Din sometimes sold us *atta* at four seers per rupee but the police removed these non-Muslims and brought them to the camp. Their stocks were left behind and taken possession of by the Muslims. Cholera spread and, as the result of it, many non-Muslims died. As the Muslim National Guards, the local police and the Muslim military had taken possession of all the fuel wood in the Mandi, the non-Muslims in the camp used to light fire for cremating the dead bodies by chopping up their boxes. This, 'however, was not enough and, frequently, dead bodies remained uncremated. On September 27 and 28, thirty-two trucks sent by the Indian Union arrived but the Muslim military permitted only those persons to go in the trucks who paid heavy bribes. I was allowed to sit in a truck at the request of a Subedar.

"On September 10, sixty non-Muslims died after taking milk. It was said that the milk was poisoned."

Jhang District

Mass massacres of Hindus and Sikhs and wholesale plunder of non-Muslim property in the towns of Jhang-Magiana, Masan, Shorkot and Chiniot were the salient features of the events in Jhang District. Similar tragedies on a smaller scale, though not less gruesome in their intensity or in the suffering occasioned to the individual victims, took place in almost all the villages in the rural areas. A study of all the availabe evidence, consisting of the statements of hundreds of refugees from the district, leaves no doubt whatever that these results were achieved by the vitriolic utterances of Pir Mubarak Ali Shah, the local Muslim League member of the Provincial Legislative Assembly, and the assistance given to him and to his *goonda* followers by Mr. Zaffar-ul-Haq Khan, District Magistrate, Mr. Mohammad Akbar,

Additional District Magistrate and Mr. Hasnat Ahmad, City Magistrate.

In the month of March the post of the Deputy Commissioner was held by a Sikh officer and the peace of the district remained undisturbed. The Superintendent of Police was a British officer and his attitude towards the minorities was sympathetic and protective. In August Mr. Zaffar-ul-Haq Khan assumed charge as District Magistrate and Mr. Hasnat Ahmad was appointed City Magistrate. Signs of unrest were observed soon after August 15, and Muslims took out processions through the streets of Jhang in defiance of prohibitory orders under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. The processionists openly asked the Hindus to leave the town. When an appeal was made to Mr. Hasnat Ahmad he merely retorted that his own house in Amritsar had been burnt by the Sikhs, and he made no secret of his resentment against the non-Muslims. His attitude could not but encourage the gangster element in the town. Pir Mubarak Ali Shah went to Karachi in the middle of August to attend a conference of the Muslim League. He returned to Jhang on the 21st, and soon afterwards Muslim hostility became more open and more intense. On August 24, Mr. Ryan, the Superintendent of Police, went to Lahore to consult the Deputy Inspector-General of Police. It was said that his departure from the district was due to a cunning move on the part of the District Magistrate and Pir Mubarak Ali Shah who wanted to have him out of the way in order to carry out their plans successfully. The events which followed support this hypothesis. On the morning of August 25, trouble began in the city of Jhang-Maghiana. Two persons were stabbed near the Canal Office and one in front of the Sessions House. The news of these assaults spread through the town like wild-fire and, while the non-Muslims took shelter in their houses, the Muslim hooligans became openly rowdy and ran about, assaulting unwary non-Muslims and setting fire to their houses and shops. By the afternoon the whole of the town was affected and large fires were seen blazing in different quarters. The wife of the Hindu Station Master came to the city with her clothes soaked in blood and crying that her husband and son had been brutally stabbed at the railway station. The following night was comparatively quiet but, on the morning of August 26, utter lawlessness broke out, and the Muslim mobs began to attack Hindus and Sikhs with redoubled fury. The military and the police patrolled the city in a leisurely fashion as if nothing serious were happening and

looked on calmly while murder and arson were committed under their very eyes. In some cases they even gave open support to the hooligans by shooting at the Hindus and looting their property. Some soldiers handed over their guns to the Muslim marauders. Pir Mubarak Ali Shah was seen firing from a .303 rifle and leading the mobs. Houses and shops in Sultanwala, Budhewala, Hasnana, Dhupsari and Railway Bazaar were looted. Dozens of houses were burnt and destroyed. This state of affairs continued throughout the day on the 26th and the following night. It is estimated that nearly two thousand non-Muslims perished in this brutal attack ; about four hundred girls were carried away and some who were later recovered were found to have been raped in a most horrible and inhuman manner. On the morning of August 27, when the fury of the marauders had abated somewhat, the non-Muslims came out of their houses and, taking their cash and valuables, formed a procession with the intention of going to the bungalow of the District Magistrate and appealing to him for help. On the way they were stopped by a military and police picket who ordered them to leave their property behind. Complaints made to the Additional District Magistrate and the City Magistrate were of no avail. The processionists were forced to comply with the orders of the police and continued their journey without their belongings. The District Magistrate told them to go to a refugee camp which had been set up in the school premises.

The District Magistrate had, on August 25, passed two orders. One of these prohibited the departure of any lorry without the specific permission of the District Magistrate and the other placed a ban on the removal of all property. A copy of this latter order was sent to the President, Town Committee, Lalian, and this copy was brought out by one of the refugees. Its text is given below:—

"ORDER

I, Zaffar-ul-Haq Khan, District Magistrate, Jhang, do hereby order that none leaving the Jhang District, shall export any goods of any description whatsoever, except the necessary wearing apparel, and the bedding enjoined by weather.

Any contravention of this order is a penal offence under the Public Safety Act.

T. O. Jhang will please contact the Police and make necessary arrangements that the contents of this order are faithfully carried out.

25th August, 1947.

(Sd.) ZAFFAR-UL-HAQ KHAN.
District Magistrate, Jhang.

District Magistrate's Office, Jhang.
No. 6012 *dated* 25-8-1947.

Copy forwarded to the President, Town Committee, Lalian, for wide publicity by beat of drum.

(Sd.)
For District Magistrate, Jhang.
25-8-1947."

This order was strictly enforced throughout the district and its terms were invoked to deprive the residents of Maghiana of all their valuable before they left the district. Some of their property was taken away even before they arrived in the refugee camp.

Conditions in the refugee camp can best be described by quoting the words of a local medical practitioner who lived in the camp.

"In the refugee camp I was placed in charge of the sick and the injured by the leaders of refugees. I had no medicines or instruments with me to perform operations and to dress the wounds of the injured. We wrote to the authorities to let us have medicines and surgical instruments from our own clinics but the Government took no action. Therefore, without the help of any instruments, we had to perform major operations with second-hand shaving blades which also were available with considerable difficulty. We were lucky to get some boric acid and a very small quantity of potassium permanganate from some shops in the Mandi and we were compelled to use ordinary oil which was unsterilized and unmedicated for dressing wounds.

"In place of gauze we used rags from tailors' shops. There were no bandages and we had to leave the wounds uncovered. Cotton, too, was not available. Most of the injured had bullet wounds and we had to cut their flesh with blades and extract the bullets with our fingers. Some of the bullets were very big in size and were fired from .303 rifles. I took out bullets from the bodies of over a hundred persons. A large number of the injured had grievous wounds inflicted by spears and other sharp-edged weapons, and almost all injured persons had multiple injuries on

their bodies. I came across the case of a goldsmith's wife belonging to village Sagla, at that time residing in Mohalla Sultanwala, who said that her infant daughter of about six months was rent into pieces by her thighs being pulled apart, and her son was stabbed to death by Wali Mohammad, Municipal Commissioner of Jhang.

"Apart from the injured from Jhang-Maghiana town, over five hundred persons, seriously wounded, were brought to the refugee camp from adjoining villages. One of the cases that I treated was of a woman from village Chund Bharwana who was the wife of a railway porter. One of her hands was chopped off above the wrist and then she was thrown into the fire as the result of which her lower portion got burnt. But she escaped from there and was then thrown into a well with her two daughters and one son. She was taken out of the well later on and brought to the refugee camp. Her children died in the well but one of her daughters survived and she had a deep cut from the temple to the cheek cutting the bone also. Her eldest daughter aged 18 had been abducted earlier. . . .

"The chief types of injuries inflicted on the wounded were (1) amputation of limbs, hands and forearms, (2) skull and temple injuries, (3) stab wounds penetrating the abdomen and chest, (4) bullet and gunshot wounds, (5) amputation of breasts of women (six such cases of chopped off breasts were brought to the refugee camp and all of them proved fatal), (6) circumcision wounds performed on the male organs of many young men and old men, (7) cut throat cases and (8) burns. . . .

"In the refugee camp at Jhang, due to insanitary conditions, and, due to total lack of any facilities for sanitation on behalf of the authorities and lack of proper diet, many diseases sprang up amongst the refugees and it became a gigantic problem for us doctors. Besides this, one of our big problems was the handling of maternity cases. On an average six to seven births were daily taking place in our camp. Quite a large number of deliveries was premature, due to the panic and excitement and the discomforts to which the mothers were not accustomed. There was no place to confine these unfortunate women and deliveries had to take place in the open and in the presence of men and women. We did not even have the elementary things for use on such occasions and our requests to the authorities to supply them were turned down. They had no clothes to change and no soap to wash and clean the

clothes they were wearing, at the time of delivery. A very poignant case was that of a women who was forced to walk three miles from Jhang city to the Mandi along with other refugees. She had hardly covered one mile when she gave birth to a child by the roadside. Many maternity cases became septic."

Food and water in the refugee camps were scarce. Fortunately the residents of Lyallpur came to the rescue of the refugees in the Jhang Camp and began to send them a lorry-load of *chappattis* and other foodstuffs every day. There were no latrines in the refugee camp. The inmates had to defecate in buckets and then carry the buckets out themselves.

Dhupsari and Hasnana are two suburbs of Jhang-Maghiana and there, too, disturbances broke out on August 25. The residents of Dhupsari saw the city of Maghiana ablaze on the evening of August 25, and collected in the house of one Panju Ram. A Muslim mob attacked the suburb and many houses were set on fire. Sixty persons are said to have lost their lives in the course of this assault and thirty young girls were kidnapped. In Hasnana the entire inmates of one house were butchered and the City Magistrate was shown a heap of thirty corpses lying in the house. Some residents took shelter in the house of Amir Lambardar who had promised to protect the non-Muslims. This house was attacked by a Muslim mob and the owner was compelled to ask his neighbours to leave the house. Almost all of them were murdered by the Muslims.

Jhang City, which is situated at a distance of a mile and a half from Jhang-Maghiana, did not suffer to the same extent. The total loss of life in the city is said to have been not more than thirty or forty. The entire property of the non-Muslims was, however, looted after they had left for the refugee camp. The property of the residents of Mohalla Gulabwala was carried away on trucks, camels and donkeys.

At Shorkot the sound of drums was heard on the evening of August 19, and a rumour was spread through the town that a mob of Sikhs was preparing to attack the Muslims. This rumour was wholly baseless and it transpired that the drum-beating was merely intended to collect the Muslims by way of a rehearsal of the major attack which took place on August 26. On the morning of that day it was found that all the Muslim houses were displaying Muslim League flags to distinguish them from the non-Muslim houses. In the course of the assault which took place during the

day one hundred and fifty non-Muslims lost their lives and two hundred more were injured. Muslim military on arriving joined the mob and shot at the non-Muslims. The town was then pillaged by the Muslim police, military and Muslim National Guards together with the Muslim mob. Masan, a village eight miles from Jhang, was attacked on August 26. The village was surrounded on all sides by a Muslim mob and the Hindus took shelter in a Gurdwara near the police station. The Zaildar of the *ilaqa* was a Hindu and he was done to death. Two of his daughters were abducted. Scarcely a handful of the non-Muslim population of the village escaped this brutal massacre. On August 22, a large mob of Muslims assisted by members of the National Guards, the police force and some Baluch soldiers, surrounded Chiniot. A sadhu, sitting in his hut, was murdered and his dead body was thrown into a well. Two young boys were stabbed and thrown on a mound near by. The next day Muslim National Guards were seen spraying kerosene oil with stirrup-pumps on Hindu houses and shops. The houses were then set on fire. The disturbances continued on the following day. The Deputy Superintendent of Police, who was in Chiniot, when appealed to, demanded a sum of three thousand rupees for stopping the massacre. The money was paid but the police remained inactive. In the course of three days four hundred persons lost their lives in Chiniot. The survivors took shelter in the premises of the local school. They loaded their goods on some trucks but the trucks were driven away to the police station and the property was shared among the police and the Muslim mob. Some of the residents had concealed their valuables and they were asked to give details of their whereabouts. The valuables were most probably removed by the police as the owners were never able to recover them. In the refugee camp no fuel for cremating the dead was available and the doors, windows and benches of the school were used to make up funeral pyres. A Muslim mob attacked village Chela on August 28. Some of the non-Muslims found shelter in the house of a sympathetic Muslim resident. His house was surrounded and he was threatened with death unless he ejected all those who had come under his protection. When the non-Muslims came out they were attacked and forty of them were killed. Some young girls were kidnapped. About one hundred and fifty non-Muslims were forcibly converted to Islam. These were subsequently evacuated by Hindu military on September 4. An armed mob assisted by

Muslim police and Muslim National Guards attacked Lalian on the night between August 27 and August 28. The houses of non-Muslims were looted for two days. A contingent of Hindu soldiers arrived on the third day and remained stationed at Lalian till September 25 when they were replaced by a Muslim military guard. On October 13, the non-Muslims were again attacked when they were in a refugee camp and seven persons were killed. Ten girls were kidnapped. The villages of Rajana, Ubhana and Chak No. 232 were similarly attacked resulting in the loss of several non-Muslim lives. In Chak No. 232, the non-Muslims were converted to Islam and made to eat beef. They were then set upon and several of them were done to death.

Multan District

The March riots had resulted in a decisive victory for the Muslim League gangsters and, as August 15 approached, the non-Muslim residents of the towns and villages in the district began to get apprehensive of what lay in store for them in the future State of Pakistan. Some of them began to leave their native towns and habitations but difficulties of transport, risks of train and road journeys and the desire to cling to one's property to the last prevented a large-scale exodus. The non-Muslims were in a small minority in the district, and, in the rural areas particularly, they found themselves isolated and at the mercy of their Muslim neighbours. The advent of Pakistan took them at a disadvantage if not unawares.

Looting and burning of villages commenced towards the end of August and continued throughout the month of September. In some of the out.ying villages the non-Muslims were compelled to accept Islam as they realized that, unless they adopted this course, they would be immediately done to death. In these vil.ages loss of life was negligible and the converted persons were in due course escorted to safety by the Military Evacuation Organization.* There was, however, wholesale looting and the non-Muslims lost a!l their property. During September, groups of non-Muslims travelling by road were attacked in almost all parts of the district. There were altogether no less than twenty-eight distinct attacks resulting in considerab!e loss of life. There were five attacks on trains. The recorded evidence shows a hundred and five different attacks on

* Wholesale conversion took p.ace in the following villages :—Bandra, Baqraon, Bhalli, Bati Qoiser, Chak No. 42, Chak No. 119, Mughal-Da-Bait, Chah Pipilwala, Chah Kalu Mohtamwala, Chah Gaban Wala, Dera Mulla Fazal, Gehlawala, Ghafoor, Haveli Lang, Manzabet Kaich, Khaki Panjani, Khakhan Jalalpur, Khaki Paunta, Khanpur, Basti Miani, Nawabpur, Basti Rajputan, Ranewan and Basti-Shel Khan.

villages. In a large number of these there was considerable loss of life and in every case looting and burning of non-Muslim property were witnessed. The massacre of Rampur and Jalalpur Pirwala in Tehsil Shujabad was perhaps one of the worst incidents in the district.

In Multan a large crowd of about four thousand non-Muslims went to the Cantonment Railway Station, intending to take an east-bound train. The authorities in charge of evacuation, however, allowed only a few Government officials to enter the platform. The rest of the crowd waited outside hopefully. In the meantime a large mob of Muslims began to collect and, soon after the train had left, the non-Muslims were attacked. Members of the Muslim League National Guards took part in the attack. Fifteen non-Muslims were killed and twenty-five injured. Ten young girls were kidnapped. Fortunately a contingent of Mahratta military arrived and saved the situation. Conditions in the city deteriorated and utter lawlessness prevailed. Non-Muslims, venturing out of their houses to visit a bank, or on their way to the railway station or the aerodrome, were attacked and looted. Many persons lost their lives in this manner. Groups of Muslim hooligans would bring hand-carts or bullock-carts to the doors of Hindu and Sikh houses and calmly remove all the property, whether the residents were at home or not. The police did not choose to interfere. Some non-Muslims tried to sell their furniture and other movables for a pittance and, for some days, radio sets, bicycles and gramophones were sold for a few rupees each. Then information was sent to the city that the Hindus would be leaving their property behind in any case and it was unwise and unnecessary for the Muslims to pay money for it. Hindu and Sikh officials were refused their salary for the month of August as the Accountant-General of West Punjab had sent out instructions that no salary should be paid to officials who were not expected to remain in Pakistan. The Police officers were all disarmed and even the licenced weapons privately owned by them were taken away. They were then turned out of their barracks and their rations were stopped. It was with the greatest difficulty that the Deputy Superintendent of Police allowed them to stay in the Gurdwara and the Police Lines. One of the constables who was dark complexioned and, in appearance, somewhat like a Muslim, grew a short beard and wore a Jinnah cap; and, thus disguised, he went out to get rations for his colleagues, confined in the Gurdwara and the Police Lines. On

September 17, a number of Muslim Police officials from East Punjab arrived in Multan and launched an attack on the Hindu and Sikh Police officials. Many of them were injured and deprived of their belongings. The timely arrival of the Deputy Superintendent of Police prevented loss of life on this occasion, but a little later two Sikhs were murdered and a Hindu Prosecuting Sub-Inspector who rushed to their help was given a severe beating.

An Army officer posted at Shujabad in the beginning of August made a tour of the neighbouring villages. He described what he saw as follows:

"On September 3, 1947, I was proceeding to Chadhar and Khojan and the surrounding villages on patrol duty with four Sikh and one Dogra sepoys. We had one Bren gun, one tommy-gun, one pistol and three .303 rifles, one box of hand-grenades and one thousand .303 bullets. When we reached Chadhar, we saw a big blaze of fire in the direction of Rampur. I ordered the driver to take our jeep to that side. When we reached near Rampur we saw a very big Muslim mob of about six or seven thousand persons armed with rifles and sharp-edged weapons with an Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police and many police constables all armed. The village was burning. We took our stand at a distance of about five hundred yards from the village and began firing on the Muslim mob. The hooligans ran. Some men in the mob tried to surround us but persistent firing kept them at a distance. Many men in the mob were killed. We saw heaps of dead bodies in the village, some burnt, some half burnt, some killed by shots and some stabbed to death. There was a smell of flesh and blood burning and we felt choked. In my estimate the number of dead bodies might have been nearly two thousand. The non-Muslims of the neighbouring villages had come to Rampur, believing it to be more safe, as the Hindu landlords of that place had licensed arms with them. I saw the Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police in possession of the guns of the Hindus. I could find only eleven persons alive in the village. They had concealed themselves in strange places. Of them I found two women concealed between the wall and the iron safe of their house."

The Assistant Sub-Inspector of Karor Pucca visited village Khaji Wala on the morning of August 25, and witnessed a horrible spectacle. Over a hundred non-Muslim men, women and children had been tied together and placed on a heap of burning straw. As the flames killed them slowly they writhed and groaned in a most

dreadful manner. In the neighbouring villages much murder and looting had taken place. Every time non-Muslims went to the Shujabad Railway Station to board a train, they were searched and deprived of all their belongings. The first train left on August 25, and the search was carried out thoroughly and ruthlessly. The passengers were not allowed to take anything with them. The second train left on September 14. On this occasion the passengers were allowed to take away a few clothes and one light bedding each. The third train left on September 25, and on this occasion the search was somewhat relaxed. This train was attacked at Pakpattan and thoroughly looted. On October 11, the non-Muslims were ordered to leave their houses in Shujabad within two hours and go to the refugee camp which consisted of a plot of open ground flooded with water. After some time the refugees were removed to a number of houses on the outskirts of the town. They were continuously harassed by the Baluch military and there were many reports of women having been taken away and raped by the soldiers.

The Naib Tehsildar of Shujabad was a witness of the happenings in Khan Bela. His story is given in his own words:

"On September 3, news was received in Shujabad that Ghazipur, a village about seven miles from Jalalpur Pirwala, was burnt down and pillaged by the Muslims on the previous night and over a hundred persons had been murdered in cold blood. Many of the residents were terrified into accepting Islam. Quite a number of young women were abducted. On the afternoon of September 3, some people of Jalalpur Pirwala informed me that that village stood in great danger of being burnt and looted. I thought it was no use going to the Tehsildar who was a Muslim and was well known for his communal tendencies. I, therefore, went to the Officer Commanding of the Military Unit stationed in Shujabad. He needed a good deal of persuading to send some of his men to Jalalpur Pirwala but finally agreed to do so. I accompanied the Officer Commanding.

"We left Shujabad at about 9 p.m. in a jeep. On the way we met another jeep coming from Ghazipur and the Officer Commanding directed this jeep also to follow us. We reached Jalalpur Pirwala shortly after 10. The people were awake and shaking with terror. We made a round of the town and told the people to be on their guard. At the police station the Sub-Inspector informed me that he had received a report about a huge mob

having gathered at Khan Bela in the evening. Khan Bela is seven miles to the west of Jalalpur Pirwala and had a population of about 2,500 persons. I asked the Sub-Inspector if he would accompany us there but he refused to do so. I was of the opinion that we should go to Khan Bela. About two miles from Jalalpur Pirwala the road was under water and our jeeps could not go across. We left the jeeps with two soldiers to keep a watch on them and went forward on foot. We could see the holocaust from quite a long distance and hear the report of gunfire. As we drew near we could see that the whole village was ablaze and we could hear the groans of the injured persons. We passed a lane which was full of smoke. Brickbats began to be thrown at us from house-tops and suddenly someone began to fire at us. We withdrew and went to another part of the village where we saw people coming out after committing loot, murder and arson. Most of them were carrying looted property and some of them were dragging non-Muslim women. We opened fire at them and most of them ran away. Some fell down dead as the result of our firing. In an hour's time the village was almost clear of them. I saw that over one hundred Hindus were lying dead in the village and enquiries showed that about fifty young women had been kidnapped."

The Officer Commanding went back to Jalalpur Pirwala and saw that, in his absence, the village had been subjected to a brutal and determined attack by a huge Muslim mob. Over a thousand persons had been butchered. Many residents committed suicide. The whole village was then ransacked. The Officer Commanding, on seeing this wreckage, sent a wireless message to Multan, asking for more troops, but the reply received by him was that he should not expose his men to unnecessary risk. The Zaildar of the *ilaqa* led out a number of non-Muslims, on the following day, promising to escort them to Shujabad. On the way the caravan was attacked and most of the men were killed and the young women abducted. Some men from Jalalpur Pirwala left in two trucks after having bribed the Sub-Inspector of Police heavily. The trucks were attacked on the way, and almost all the male passengers were killed. All the young girls were kidnapped.

Village Budhe was attacked towards the end of August and almost the entire population was wiped out. In Chak No. 16/10R the non-Muslims tried to defend themselves and two of them, who had licensed arms, returned the fire of Muslim raiders but the villagers were heavily outnumbered and it is said that nearly

a thousand of them were killed and many of their young girls were carried away. Mian Channu was attacked on August 20. A foot caravan of non-Muslims from the neighbouring villages coming to Mian Channu was stopped and accused of planning to attack the Muslims. The non-Muslims were deprived of their weapons and their goods. A mob of Muslims then attacked these poor refugees and killed many of them. A convoy of seventeen trucks left Mian Channu on September 15. One of the trucks had engine trouble on the way and had to stop. A Muslim mob suddenly appeared from nowhere and attacked the passengers. Six girls were carried away and the remaining non-Muslims were all murdered. The Sikhs of village Belewala sought shelter in the house of a local Muslim Pir. While they were on their way some of their young girls were kidnapped. After they had entered the house, the doors were sprayed with kerosene oil and set ablaze. When the Sikhs ran out they were set upon by their Muslim neighbours and mercilessly butchered. Village Makhdumpur Pahoran, the camp at Talamba and the Hindu residents in Hamand Cantal Rest House were attacked by Muslim mobs in the end of August.

As an instance of the conditions of train travel in these days we may quote from the statement of an Advocate of Multan who left Mailsi on October 7.

"Our train (consisting of open roofless trucks) with about three thousand and five hundred refugees started at noon from Mailsi under a Mahratta military escort headed by Subedar——, a very sympathetic and dutiful young military officer, on October 7. After Kutubpur Station a mob consisting of more than fifteen hundred armed Muslims came out from behind some sand-hills. The railway line was blocked with stones and logs of wood. Our train, therefore, stopped. The mob fired at the train. The Subedar and the members of the escort got down from the train and returned the fire. Three or four persons from among the mob were killed, while as many more were injured. The Subedar brought back a rifle and a helmet which belonged to the leader of the mob. The raiders then fled away and the train started once again. The train stopped at Khanewal Junction at sunset. There was no engine to continue the journey and we spent the night at Khanewal. We were told at night that a Magistrate had come and recorded the statements of the Subedar and the engine driver. We left in the morning and reached Harappa

at 9 a.m. but we were not allowed to proceed further as orders to detain us had been issued by the District Magistrate of Multan or Montgomery. At 5 p.m. the Commissioner, Multan, the Deputy Commissioner, Montgomery, two big military officers, three or four police officials and some sixty or seventy Muslim soldiers arrived. The Commissioner and others interrogated the Subedar at length and he had to repeat his story several times. We learnt that the leader of the mob who had been killed by our military escort was a Sub-Divisional Officer of Canals posted there and that he was a very near relation of the Prime Minister of Pakistan. For this reason all the big local officers were afraid of his participation in the assault becoming known in India. After the interrogation was over, our train was taken back to Mian Channu and stopped at a distance of half a mile from the railway station. Next day, at noon, an armed mob of Muslims appeared. There was an exchange of shots between the mob and our military escort. The Muslim soldiers from Mian Channu now appeared on the scene and persuaded the mob to go back. After some time our Mahratta Subedar was called aside by a Muslim military officer who came from Mian Channu. After this interview the Subedar came to us and told us with tears in his eyes that the position had become serious and there was no other alternative for us but to leave the train within fifteen minutes and take with us only so much luggage as we could carry on our heads. The confusion that followed after hearing this sudden announcement can better be imagined than described. We had to leave most of our luggage in the train. The armed mob of Muslims again approached near us. We were placed in a garden covering two *qillas* of land at a distance of one and a half miles from the train. It was within this small space that we had to cremate some twenty refugees who had died of starvation.

"As soon as we left the train the Muslim mob dispersed and the train was taken possession of by the Muslim military. Not a single article was removed by any member of the mob. We came to know later that all our luggage from the train was taken to the *malkhana* and converted into Pakistan Government property. We were kept almost locked up in that garden for five days. No Pakistan official ever enquired whether we had anything to eat and how we managed to subsist. They gave us no provisions. Some of the local refugees shared their scanty provisions with us.

"On the sixth day we were taken back to the same goods train which was now in charge of a Gurkha military escort. We finally reached Attari on October 15."

This is a case in which the refugees travelled in comparative comfort and safety. There was only one attack and this was repulsed successfully. The hardship that the passengers, however, suffered entailed the loss of several lives on the way. There was no food and many died of starvation. They had to remain for many days in the open, by day and by night, and exposure took a toll of nearly twenty-five persons. It was learnt later that the Mahratta Subedar was accused of killing the Sub-Divisional Officer by shooting at him from the running train while the Sub-Divisional Officer was performing his duties on the canal bank.

Muzaffargarh District

Muzaffargarh District is bounded on the north by the district of Mianwali and on the west by the river Indus. The river Chenab runs along the greater part of its eastern boundary. Muslims comprised 86.42 per cent of its total population before partition. Not many Sikhs lived in the district; their number was probably not much more than six thousand in all,* and they lived mostly in the rural areas concentrated in a handful of *bastis* surrounded by predominantly Muslim villages. When disturbances began in the month of September they found it difficult either to defend themselves or to escape to places of comparative safety. As they formed a special target of the fanatical attack on the minorities many of them perished; the rest were forcibly converted to Islam. These last were eventually evacuated under police or military escort. Mass conversion of Hindus and Sikhs was a special feature of the Muzaffargarh District and there were many villages in which the entire non-Muslim population was compelled to embrace Islam, under threat of annihilation. In these villages the loss of life was inconsiderable,† though conversion did not prevent their entire property from being looted and their young women from being kidnapped and subjected to the barbarous lust of the marauders. Here, as elsewhere, there were numerous cases of neighbourly kindness and protection offered by local Muslims and the Muslim

* At the census of 1941 the figure was 5,882.

† Wholesale conversion took place in the villages of Serwala, Warra Sera, Sohal, Ratta Ram, Dogar Kalasra, Subani Wasti, Pakki Labhana, Makhan Bela, Tarpur, Sahhani, Basti Qazi (seven non-Muslims who were unwilling were murdered), Tibbi Nizam, Usman Kuria and Mariwala.

police officers. Only rarely, however, did these efforts succeed in evading or counteracting the hideous forces of murder and rapine. In a few instances the kidnapped girls were restored to their relations after they had agreed to accept Islam. The evacuation of these converted persons presented serious difficulties to our Liaison Agency and the Military Organization in charge of evacuation, as they were stranded in small and all but inaccessible pockets. Sometimes their very existence was not known as they had moved from their last habitation. The available evidence regarding their whereabouts was meagre and a diligent search had to be made in very difficult conditions.

At the time of partition Raja Sultan Lal Hussain was the Deputy Commissioner and during his tenure of office the district remained peaceful. He left on August 20, and soon afterwards disturbances began and spread to all parts of the district. The first recorded incident is an attack on a Sikh passenger on August 20, at the Sanawan Railway Station. The victim escaped and sought refuge in a Hindu temple. He was pursued by a mob of Muslims who demanded that he should be handed over to them. They threatened to destroy the whole city if the man were not given up. They succeeded in capturing the Sikh and murdering him. A fortnight later the railway station was attacked again and two Hindu railway officials were murdered. There were simultaneous attacks on a number of other railway stations on the solitary line which runs through this district. At Dorata a Sikh Station Master and seven members of his family were murdered. At Jaman Shah a Hindu Station Master was murdered and his two daughters were kidnapped. At Karor twenty-one non-Muslim railway employees including the Assistant Station Master were murdered. Two girls were abducted. At Dera Dinpanah a Hindu porter was murdered. The daughter of the Station Master of Gurmani was kidnapped. These attacks struck terror in the hearts of the non-Muslim railway employees. The murders at the railway stations were followed by attacks on the villages. A large mob of two thousand Muslims surrounded village Sanawan and murdered a large number of non-Muslims. The women of the village had been placed in a separate house which was attacked by a mob of Muslims. About ten old women were murdered and then all the ornaments and valuables were plundered. Fifteen young girls were carried away. The Sub-Inspector of Police took the non-Muslims to the railway station and helped in evacuating

them to Muzaffargarh. A member of the West Punjab Legislative Assembly and a Muslim Recruiting Officer were observed encouraging and helping the Muslim mob.

At Karor a most horrible massacre of non-Muslims was enacted. Karor is a small town situated in the extreme north of the district. There were a police station, a High School, Civil and Veterinary Hospitals in the town and a large number of non-Muslims resided there. With the outbreak of disturbances the non-Muslims of the neighbouring villages arrived in Karor and, in the beginning of September, nearly ten thousand Hindus and Sikhs had congregated in the town. On September 3, a Hindu while crossing a stream was murdered. The same night the railway station was attacked. During the days that followed, the town was subjected to several attacks. A Hindu, writing on September 5, said that dogs and vultures were eating the corpses of non-Muslims lying in the streets of Karor. The neighbouring villages suffered heavy losses in life and property. Almost all the villages in the neighbourhood of Karor and Leiah were attacked on September 4 and 5. The simultaneity of the attack indicated a pre-conceived plan. On September 7 a large Muslim mob attacked Dedhe Lal, a small village near Rohillanwali, in the southern part of the district. The non-Muslims abandoned their houses and took shelter in the house of Chaudhry Lila Kishen. The Muslims began to loot the houses and shops and the pillage continued through the night. The next morning the village Lambardar took the non-Muslims to his house and sent a messenger to Muzaffargarh for military aid. In the afternoon ten Baluch soldiers arrived in the village and asked the Lambardar to turn the non-Muslims out. The soldiers wanted the women to be placed in a separate house but, on being paid a bribe of two hundred rupees, agreed to let them stay with the men. During the night some young women were raped by the Baluch soldiers. On September 9, the non-Muslims were asked to embrace Islam. While these negotiations were proceeding, a local Pleader brought a truck to the village and, in this truck, twenty non-Muslims were carried to Muzaffargarh. The remaining non-Muslims took shelter in a room but the local Muslims assisted by the Baluch soldiers made a hole in the roof of the *kotha* and, pouring kerosene oil inside, set fire to it. Sixty-five persons are said to have been burnt in this *kotha*. The Sub-Inspector of Kinjar told the local non-Muslims, on September 5, that he could not guarantee their safety. He, however, asked the Muslim Zemindars to try and protect their

co-villagers. The village was attacked early on the morning of September 7. The Sufaidposh and the Zaildar who had given assurances of safety to the non-Muslims were seen to be taking part in the assault. The mob entered the village shouting "*Pakistan Zindabad*" and "*Jinnah Zindabad.*" They broke open the locks of houses and shops and began to loot them. About two hundred shops and houses were set fire to and any non-Muslims found in the streets were set upon and murdered. The Sub-Inspector of Police sat in the rural dispensary gossipping with the doctor. He was either completey indifferent to what was going on in the village or, what is more probable, quite powerless to stop it. Later, when the fury of the mob had somewhat abated, the Sub-Inspector took the non-Muslims to the police station and kept them there for a week. Rations were extremely meagre and attempts to carry provisions to the police station were foiled by the Zaildar and the local Muslims. On September 15, a number of lorries were hired and the non-Muslims were evacuated. The village, however, was reduced to a ruin. Chaudhri Lal Chand, a resident of Kamal Kurai, a village five miles from Kinjar, was robbed of his cash and ornaments while he was proceeding to Kinjar on September 5. He reported the matter to the Sub-Inspector at Kinjar who paid a visit to his village but was unable to trace the culprits. When Lal Chand went to Kinjar on September 7 with a list of the stolen property he found the village in flames. He went back to Kamal Kurai and found it surrounded by a Muslim mob. The Hindu residents collected at the house of Chaudhri Asu Ram and handed over the keys of their houses and shops to the Muslims who immediately began to loot them. All the cattle owned by the non-Muslims were driven out and some of the houses were burnt down. The next morning the attack was renewed and the non-Muslims were asked to embrace Islam. Some of them agreed and publicly took off their sacred threads. Those who hesitated or did not agree were set upon and murdered. The converted persons were taken to a Muslim house in a neighbouring village, and some of the girls who had been kidnapped were restored to them. These unfortunate persons were rescued about three weeks later by the military.

The Sikh Bastis Kothiwala, Shihnwala, Kartarpur and Basantpura were attacked on September 6 and 7. The majority of the residents perished and the rest were forcibly converted to Islam. Those who tried to escape were waylaid and done to death. Many girls were carried away by the marauders. The

total loss of life in these four Bastis was several hundred. The Muslims of village Chandian were divided in their attitude towards the non-Muslims. Some of them were of the opinion that if the non-Muslims were willing to accept Islam they should not be molested while others thought that immediate death was the only suitable end for all non-Muslims. Sardar Khan Chandian, who was the leader of the first party, took the non-Muslims to a mosque and converted them to Islam. They were all made to remove their sacred threads and *chotis* and recite the *Kalma*. They spent a night in the mosque and, in the morning, ate beef which was given to them. The second party of Muslims was, however, not satisfied and launched an attack on the mosque. Over a hundred persons were done to death and a number of young girls were kidnapped. Their houses were then looted. Sardar Khan took the survivors to his Chak and finally helped in evacuating them to Muzaffargarh. The residents of Basti Miranpur were saved through the good offices of the local Muslims who converted them to Islam and finally helped to send them to Kinjar from where they were evacuated. In villages Serin Dewan Wali and Gujrat a wholesale murder of non-Muslims took place. In village Gangian the non-Muslims accepted the offer of conversion but many of them were nevertheless done to death. The Sikh residents of village Mangal Singh were attacked on September 9 and many of them were burnt alive in a house where they had taken shelter. Others who tried to rush out were slaughtered and a large heap of dead bodies was seen lying in the village.

A large number of non-Muslims ran to Muzaffargarh from the neighbouring villages and sought shelter in the refugee camp near the railway station. Muzaffargarh itself did not witness disturbances on a large scale but there were many cases of murder and loot. Exit from Muzaffargarh was made difficult because the bridge over the Chenab, connecting the districts of Muzaffargarh and Multan, was continuously watched by Muslim mobs who attacked and murdered anyone trying to cross it. This bridge was seen to be strewn with dead bodies. All the roads leading from Muzaffargarh were infested by murderous gangs of Muslims and it was not till the end of September, when a large-scale evacuation with the help of the Military Evacuation Organization began, that the non-Muslims in the district were able to escape to safety. The refugees from Dera Ghazi Khan had to pass through Muzaffargarh and this added to the numbers in the refugee camps and to the problems of providing food for them. On September 12,

the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Multan Range, came to the district and was instrumental in checking the disturbances. Non-Muslims from different villages were brought to the nearest Tehsil headquarters and placed in nineteen different camps. The number of camps was gradually reduced and evacuation by railway began on October 23. Indian military arrived on October 25, and this further helped to restore confidence.

Rawalpindi District

Rawalpindi was a predominantly Muslim district. The census returns of 1941 recorded a population of 7.85 lakhs of whom 6.28 lakhs, representing 80 per cent of the total, were Muslims. Sikhs in appreciable numbers resided both in the town of Rawalpindi and in the rural areas. They occupied a not unimportant position in the civic life of the district, as some of them were very wealthy and owned large properties in the urban areas of Rawalpindi and Murree and also in the villages. The people of the district are robust in physique and warlike in spirit; and provide good material for Army recruitment. Every village counted among its residents a few Army pensioners who owned firearms and knew how to use them effectively. There are few roads and some of the outlying villages are difficult of access. The extent and intensity of the March riots had driven out almost the entire non-Muslim population from the rural areas. The August riots were, therefore, confined for the most part to Rawalpindi proper and Chaklala, a military base four miles away.

The headquarters of the Northern Command were situated in Rawalpindi and a large Army force was stationed in the Cantonment. The presence of so many troops should have ensured the safety of the town but, after the March happenings, the non-Muslims lost all confidence in the ability or, at any rate, the impartiality of the Army personnel in affording protection to them.

The August trouble at Rawalpindi began with the arrival of some Muslim refugees from East Punjab. The Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Anwar-ul-Haq, made a gallant attempt to control the situation but he received no assistance from his subordinates or the police. Indeed, their attitude and conduct were calculated to revive and exacerbate the hostilities between the communities. Added to this was the factor that many of the culprits responsible for committing offences, during the March riots, were released on bail. This circumstance was utilized by the Muslim League agitators to their benefit, for they were able to say that, with the

establishment of Pakistan, they had been able to redeem the pledges given to these criminals and any future acts of a similar nature committed by them would be condoned by the authorities. These hooligans, therefore, thought that they were free to murder and loot the minorities in the district.

On the morning of August 15, a number of non-Muslims were stabbed. On the following day Kartarpura Mohalla was attacked by armed Muslims and completely plundered. Many of the non-Muslim residents were killed. On August 17, the Khalsa High School and the Khalsa College suffered the same fate. The *Id* festival was celebrated on August 18, and, after the morning prayers, Muslims ran about the city, in a fit of exultant frenzy, looting and burning non-Muslim property. Hindus and Sikhs were freely attacked and beaten. The Hindu Civil Surgeon, Mr. Sondhi, was severely wounded and his car was damaged as he was on his way to the hospital to give medical aid to the riot casualities. A Hindu physician was shot dead in the street. Murderous gangs lurked behind every street corner and inside every mosque. If a Hindu or a Sikh were seen approaching he was pounced upon and killed. Mosques were used as arsenals and vantage points for attack. The authorities raided a mosque in the city and found a large dump of firearms, hand-grenades and other lethal weapons. Hindu and Sikh shrines were desecrated. Rioting continued upto the end of September except for a few temporary lulls. Mai Veero-ki-Banni, Pul Shah Nazar, Nimak Mandi, Momanpura and Mohalla Talwaran were all looted. On September 11, about two hundred non-Muslim subjects of Poonch State left Rawalpindi in eleven trucks under military escort. They were first subjected to a thorough search at the railway station, under the supervision of an Anglo-Indian Magistrate, Mr. Ross. They were then stopped at the octroi post and another search which lasted several hours was carried out. The trucks finally left but, when they had travelled for about six miles, they were set upon by a mob of armed Muslims. The military escort sat by the roadside and took no steps to defend the non-Muslims. The last two trucks were able to turn round and return to Rawalpindi but the remaining nine trucks were thoroughly looted and almost all the passengers were killed. Many girls were kidnapped.

If a non-Muslim temporarily left his house he found, on his return, that it had been occupied by Muslim refugees with the help of National Guards. In some cases non-Muslims were

forcibly ejected from their houses. A prominent Advocate had to go to Delhi on business and, before he left, the Deputy Commissioner assured him that his house would be safe. At Delhi, however, news was received by this Advocate that the Tehsildar and the Naib Tehsildar had gone to his house and taken possession of it. His motor car was also taken away. Some luggage which he had packed up in crates was lost.

Non-Muslims experienced great difficulty in travelling to India. Mr. Ross was in charge of evacuation and he exerted all his influence in harassing and victimizing the non-Muslims. Not a single train left Rawalpindi for India between September 1 and October 18, except Military Specials in which civil refugees could not ordinarily travel. Mr. Ross refused to arrange for transport on the ground that there was no reciprocal movement of rolling stock from India. This was not true because at least two trains carrying Muslim Refugees from East Punjab arrived in Rawalpindi during this period.* A train was announced to leave Chaklala Railway Station on September 18. Rolling stock and engines were available. Tickets for the journey to India were issued to non-Muslims but, when the intending travellers arrived at Chaklala, they learnt that the train had been cancelled. No reasons for this decision were assigned. Arrangements were finally made for a train to leave on October 18. Large numbers of passengers with their luggage arrived at Chaklala. They had to pay fifty rupees per package to the coolies, but their luggage was finally brought to the station platform. A Muslim Magistrate, accompanied by a number of police constables, now arrived and ordered all the non-Muslim to leave the station premises. Some of them had to be driven out at the point of the bayonet. After they had left, almost the entire luggage was looted by members of the National Guards. When the train arrived at 5 p.m., the passengers had to get in without their luggage.†

Gujar Khan was attacked by a Muslim mob towards the end of August. A number of non-Muslims were stabbed and several more injured. The non-Muslims were forcibly ejected from their houses and they were told that the goods in their shops were Pakistan property. The non-Muslims then left the town.

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* Bakshi Mehtab Singh, a senior Advocate, says that he himself saw these trains arrive and visited the Muslim Refugee Camp.

† Many Government officials took part in the loot and received a share of the property thus stolen. Action was taken against them by the Pakistan Government, many recoveries were made and some of the officials were actually suspended.

The evidence relating to disturbances in the rural areas during the months of August and September is somewhat meagre, partly because most of the non-Muslims had already left after the March disturbances and partly because the few who were left did not survive to tell their story. Chak Shahbad, a village about six miles from Rawalpindi, was attacked on the afternoon of August 28. All the non-Muslim houses were plundered, and about ten non-Muslims were killed. The rest escaped to Rawalpindi and were evacuated to India. The villages of Chak Shadadpur, Hanaysar, Nara and Daultala were similarly attacked.

Jhelum District

Jhelum was another predominantly Muslim District. The total number of Hindu and Sikh residents was only about sixty-five thousand or a little more than 10 per cent of the total population. The inhabitants of the rural areas possessed a strong physique and the district shared with Rawalpindi the honour of providing an endless supply of Army recruits. Large sums of money were poured into the district annually by way of military pensions, and the tiresome vocation of tilling the land was not the only means of livelihood open to the people. Their moral fibre, however, was weak and they were prone to be swayed by base and selfish considerations. It was not religious emotion or aggressive chauvinism which prompted them to attack the Hindu and Sikh minorities living in their midst, but the prospect of personal gain. This was truer of the people of Jhelum than of, perhaps, any other district in the Punjab.

The March riots affected some of the rural areas and in Gah, a village in Tehsil Chakwal, a general massacre of non-Muslims took place in that month. Eighty houses were burnt and thirty persons lost their lives in this fire. Village Warwal was also attacked in a similar manner. Nine persons were killed and many more injured. At Hasal a large Muslim mob arrived and forced the non-Muslims to embrace Islam. Those who refused were murdered. The village was then looted. A military picket was posted in the village and there was no further trouble until August. Narang, Mangwal, Rasala, Sarkal, and Minwal were similarly attacked and the non-Muslims were forced to accept Islam. Chakwal was subjected to several attacks but the local Muslims advised the raiders to go back. On March 12, military was posted in the town and normal conditions returned.

In the town of Jhelum disturbances broke out during September. The attack on the residents of Machine Mohalla was a particularly brutal one. On September 25, a mob of armed Muslims carrying machine-guns, revolvers and other weapons attacked the non-Muslim houses. The victims had been warned of this attack and they entrenched themselves in five or six houses in Mohalla Gobindpura, the doors of which were barricaded. The attack lasted for several hours and some of the houses in the Mohalla were set fire to. A contingent of Muslim military arrived and asked the non-Muslims to send their women and girls in trucks to a place of safety. This direction was complied with. The women and girls were never heard of again. Immediately afterwards the non-Muslim males were set upon and a general massacre followed. Hundreds of men were killed and their dead bodies were thrown in the Jhelum River. It is said that only about three hundred persons out of a total of two thousand non-Muslims living in this Mohalla survived. The houses were then looted and even the dead bodies were searched and robbed. The bungalow of Sardarni Lachhmi of Wahali was attacked and she and her brother's wife were brutally murdered by a Muslim mob. Their entire property was then looted.

Murid, a village six miles from Chakwal, was attacked, on September 10, by a mob of several thousand Muslims. The houses and shops of the non-Muslims were ransacked, the Gurdwara was desecrated and the religious books were burnt. To add to the sacrilege, cows were butchered inside the Gurdwara. Bhaun, a village eight miles from Chakwal, was attacked on August 11. The raiders brought camels, donkeys and bullock-carts with them and carried away large quantities of loot. The non-Muslims were then told to leave their village if they valued their lives. Haranpur was attacked on August 13, and it is said that the Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Pind Dadan Khan and a Sub-Inspector of Police came with the raiders and shared the loot. The residents of Haranpur were later evacuated to the Pind Dadan Khan refugee camp under military escort. On September 19, five thousand refugees from this camp boarded a train bound for Amritsar. This train was attacked several times on the way, and the majority of the passengers were killed. Many girls and young women were abducted. Some residents of Balkassar tried to run away by stealing out of the village at night. They were attacked on the way and three of them were murdered. Some reached Chakwal and

arranged to send military trucks to the village and this enabled the remaining non-Muslims to escape to safety. Wahali was attacked on September 2, and the big *haveli* of Sardar Hari Singh was burnt down. Forty non-Muslims are said to have been murdered. In village Lehr Sultanpur, there was only one non-Muslim family. When they were leaving the village they were attacked and looted. In the beginning of October the Police Sub-Inspector of Dina ordered the non-Muslims to leave their village. They were not allowed to take anything with them. When the non-Muslims arrived in Mirpur they were attacked by a Muslim mob and many of them were killed. The survivors escaped to Jammu and finally found their way to Amritsar. In contrast to this, it is agreeable to record that in village Pahdri no incident took place and that the Muslims helped to evacuate the non-Muslims and carried their luggage on their own heads up to the place where lorries were available. At Jhelum, however, the luggage was looted.

Attock District

Attock, a small village on the banks of the Indus, is the last Punjab outpost on the Grand Trunk Road. When the head-quarters of the district were set up at Campbellpur, Attock lost its civic importance and the village was almost completely deserted. A garrison, posted in the fort, remained to watch the frontier of the province and guard the bridge which strides across the Indus as its torrent rushes through a narrow gorge flanked by rocky precipices. The Grand Trunk Road winds down to the bridge and crosses over into the territory of the North-West Frontier Province. Long stretches of undulating sandy fields, dotted with small stone-built villages, alternate with wooded hilly tracts. A number of streams which suddenly swell up during the monsoon rains to unfordable dimensions run through the district. There are remains of several Moghul buildings including a Rest House situated amid the picturesque surroundings of the Wah springs and a *Baradari* at Attock. The Sikh shrine of Panja Sahib at Hassan Abdal was visited by Sikh pilgrims from all parts of India.

The population of the district according to the census of 1941, was 6.75 lakhs the vast majority of whom (6.11 lakhs comprising 90.42 per cent) were Muslims. In March 1947 several villages in the eastern part of the district were affected by the disturbances in the rural areas of Rawalpindi District.

On March 9 a Muslim mob, shouting slogans and beating drums, entered village Jhari. The non-Muslims ran to take shelter

in the Gurdwara but, when they found that they would be overpowered, they escaped from the back door and ran out into the jungle. The next morning they came back, on learning that the mob had left. That afternoon the Zaildar asked all non-Muslims to embrace Islam. The barbers were called and the hair of the Sikhs was removed. The next morning the newly converted people were asked to eat beef and give their daughters in marriage to the Muslims. The Gurdwara Granthi argued that the Quran did not make these things compulsory for Muslims. On this the converts were attacked and more than a hundred of them were done to death. Logs of wood were thrown into the pit of a well under construction and a huge fire was lit. A number of women were thrown into this pit and burnt alive; several young girls were kidnapped; children were impaled on spears and displayed in the village. In village Parial the Sub-Inspector of Police asked the Sikhs to become Muslims if they wanted to live in safety. Master Thakar Singh, President of the Gurdwara Panchayat, refused. The next day a Muslim mob attacked the village. Master Thakar Singh was captured and murdered. His dead body was taken to the Gurdwara on spears, and the Sikhs in the Gurdwara were told that unless they embraced Islam they would meet the same fate. The Sikhs appeared to show some reluctance and the Gurdwara was set on fire. Over a hundred persons were burnt alive or murdered by the Muslim mob. In village Mithial, a number of persons were murdered and ten children were burnt alive. In Rajar a mass massacre of Sikhs, involving the death of one hundred and fifty persons, took place. In Dheri thirteen persons were murdered and two burnt alive because they refused to embrace Islam. The remaining non-Muslims were then converted. Mass conversions took place in Chak Belikhan, Ghela Kalan, Mial, Dhalwali, Mohra, Sihal, Sanghral, Saroha, etc.

A Muslim mob attacked village Basal on March 11, killing four Hindus and injuring fifteen. A number of Hindu houses and shops were looted. The neighbouring village of Kisran was similarly attacked and several persons were murdered. Basal was attacked a second time, on March 13, and in the course of this attack twenty-seven Hindus lost their lives. Altogether seventy-two villages in the district were attacked during the March riots. A camp was set up near the Basal Railway Station and the non-Muslims of the neighbouring villages sought shelter there. When the Rawalpindi trouble subsided most of the refugees

returned home but some whose confidence was completely shaken stayed on in the camp. When attacks by Muslim mobs began, in August, the Hindus once again hurried to find safety in the Basal Camp. They were subsequently removed to the larger camp at Wah.

Campbellpur, Talagang, and Fatehjang where the Hindus lived in appreciable numbers were all attacked. It must be recorded that the Gurdwara of Panja Sahib was not attacked as it remained well guarded throughout. There were few Hindus left in the rural areas and the evidence discloses only thirty-one cases of attacks on villages. The number of road incidents recorded is eight while two trains were attacked.

Talagang was attacked on the morning of September 18, by a mob of five thousand Muslims. A number of women and girls who had gone out into the fields to answer the call of nature were kidnapped. The raiders surrounded the village and exchanged shots with the non-Muslim residents. The siege lasted two days and when the ammunition of the defenders was exhausted the 'Muslims attacked the town and began to slaughter the non-Muslims and loot their houses and shops. It is estimated that about three hundred and fifty Hindus were done to death and many more injured. Some were forcibly converted to Islam. Several young girls were kidnapped. Two days later, the Baluch military arrived and the survivors were taken to a camp set up in the local school. A fortnight later, they were escorted to the Wah Camp by lorry and train ; but, before leaving, they were deprived of their money and valuables. The train was attacked on the way, near Golra Railway Station, by a mob of Muslims who had concealed themselves in *bajra* fields. Eleven of the Hindu passengers were wounded but the train was safely brought to Wah.

Some non-Muslim residents of Lava left the village on September 3. The remaining two hundred or two hundred and fifty could not make any transport arrangements and had to stay behind. On September 5, a Muslim mob attacked the village killing a number of persons and forcibly converting others. The entire village was then looted.

On August 30, a convoy of non-Muslims, passing through Fatehjang, was attacked. Twenty Hindus were killed and fifteen wounded. Koti Gul was attacked on September 5. Two Hindus were killed and seven injured ; the rest of the non-Muslims were

forcibly converted to Islam. The Hindu shops were looted. About one thousand non-Muslims lived in Tamman. On August 15, a crowd of Muslims attacked some Hindu houses on the western side of the village and looted them. Twelve Hindus were killed. The Zaildar then proclaimed that Hindus had no right to live in Pakistan and should prepare themselves to leave the village. A crowd of Pathans from Mianwali arrived and demanded a share of the loot from the local Muslims. A clash ensued and the Hindus, seeing a chance of escape, ran from the village. They were pursued by the police who had taken a prominent part in planning the attack and were deprived of whatever valuables they had. They eventually reached Talagang from where they were taken to Wah. A band of Baluch soldiers in plain clothes raided the barracks occupied by Hindu employees of the M.E.S. on September 29. Eleven Hindus, sleeping in the verandah, were dragged to an adjoining field and assaulted. The hands of a Gurkha were first chopped off and then he was killed. Only one out of these eleven escaped; the dead bodies of the remaining ten were seen lying in the fields the next day. All the non-Muslims of the town were then collected and taken to a Gurdwara where a camp had been set up. No provisions were supplied to the refugees and the only food they had was some bags of parched gram lying in the Gurdwara. After a fortnight, the refugees were asked to get ready to go to the railway station where a train, bound for India, was waiting for them. No conveyance for luggage was provided and the refugees were not allowed to carry anything except small packages. A convoy of lorries carrying non-Muslims of Campbellpur to Wah, on September 29, was attacked by a Muslim mob two miles from Campbellpur. The military escort took no steps to ward off this attack. It is said that some shots were fired by the European Officer in charge of the escort but the Muslim soldiers remained passive spectators of the assault. More than two hundred non-Muslims are said to have lost their lives in this incident.

Attacks were also made on road convoys proceeding from Khaur, Pindi Gheb, Fatehjang and Pind Sultani.

Mianwali District

The Mianwali District is a boot-shaped area with a long and narrow strip of land lying along the Indus River. It was a predominantly Muslim district and the Muslims numbered 86.16 per cent of the total population. On March 11, a crowd of several

thousand Muslims from the neighbouring villages arrived at Mianwali with the intention of plundering the town. The Deputy Commissioner, however, succeeded in persuading this mob to go away. On the way back, they killed a few non-Muslims but there was no serious trouble in the district until September. In the month of August, a number of trains were stopped and searched and there were a few stray stabbing cases. A more serious incident was the murder of Captain Grewal, a Sikh officer, at the Paikhel Railway Station on August 26. The happenings in the neighbouring districts had spread panic in Mianwali and, on August 30, the Deputy Commissioner announced his plan of evacuating the non-Muslims from the district. He appointed different dates for different villages. This announcement appeared to encourage the Muslims to lawlessness as they thought that the departing Hindus and Sikhs were entirely at their mercy. There is some indication of a pre-conceived plan to launch an attack throughout the district. On September 2, nearly twenty villages were attacked by Muslim mobs and, on September 3, the trouble spread to many more. A mounted messenger brought the news of an attack on Wan Bachran, and, when military aid was sent, the Muslim hooligans ran into the neighbouring village of Shadia and killed a number of Hindus. They were pursued to Shadia and trouble broke out afresh at Wan Bachran.

On September 3, two houses in village Alluhwali were attacked. The residents were asked to pay a large sum of money and, when they refused, were shot down. Their houses were then looted. On September 6, the Hindus left their houses and collected at the house of one Jamna Das in the hope of being able to defend themselves better from one place. The Muslims looted the houses thus vacated. The next morning the Mianwali train brought a number of Muslim hooligans who joined the local Muslims and attacked some Hindus who had taken shelter in a *serai* near the railway station, killing twenty-five of them and plundering all their goods. The survivors agreed to accept Islam and were escorted to the mosque of Ramzan Arain. A barber was summoned and he began to shave the non-Muslim heads in order to make them conform to Muslim appearance. The Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police, however, did not trust the new converts, and, at his instigation, several of them were killed as they came out of the mosque. A train carrying refugees arrived at this juncture and the military escort rescued the few Hindu survivors.

On September 3, Behl was attacked. The main bazaar was looted and burnt down and then a general massacre of the non-Muslims began. This continued throughout the night and the Muslim soldiers posted in the village took part in the looting and killing. Over a hundred girls were kidnapped. In the morning the dead bodies, some half burnt and others mutilated, were thrown into a well and the survivors were asked to embrace Islam. Many of the converts were later killed. One of the kidnapped girls, relating her experience, said that she had been raped in a most inhuman manner and passed on from man to man till she completely lost all sense of feeling.

Kundian was attacked, on September 4, by a huge mob of Muslims, led by the Zaildar and the local Lambardars. The Headmaster of the school and members of the National Guards were seen helping and encouraging the hooligans. A number of houses were set on fire and over a hundred non-Muslims were killed. At Piplan the non-Muslims were escorted to the railway station for the ostensible purpose of being taken to Mianwali. They hopefully crowded into three bogies sanding at the platform, but the engine steamed away, leaving the bogies behind and the intending travellers were set upon by a Muslim mob and slaughtered like sheep. A train carrying non-Muslim refugees from Mari Indus and the neighbouring villages was attacked at Daud Khel on September 12, and looted. The military escort merely fired a few shots in the air.

September 6 was the appointed date for the evacuation of village Harnoli. That day a Muslim mob collected and launched an attack on the non-Muslims at 2-30 p.m. The Hindus defended themselves from previously prepared *morchas* and shot some of the raiders. News of this was carried to Mianwali and the Deputy Commissioner was informed that the Hindus had perpetrated horrible atrocities on the Muslims and had burnt the mosque. A contingent of Baluch military and a number of tanks were sent to restore peace in Harnoli. The Hindu residents of Mianwali saw these tanks pass and shuddered at the fate which awaited their co-religionists. The military threw a ring round the village and attacked the Hindu strongholds. The *morchas* were blown up and the town was sacked. The streets were littered with dead bodies and some of the Baluch soldiers indulged in the most inhuman barbarities. Men were hung upon trees and shot.

Little infants were dashed to the ground or had their limbs torn. Young girls were raped in a horrible manner and then slaughtered.

Bhakkar was attacked three times. On September 3, a Muslim mob surrounded the town and set fire to a number of houses. About ten non-Muslims were killed. The Sub-Divisional Officer had recently come from Gurdaspur and, when an appeal for help was made to him, he merely replied that he had seen horrible things done to his Muslim brethren in East Punjab. The Inspector of Police said that he had lost everything in East Punjab and that he was not sorry to see the Hindus of Bhakkar suffering. The arrival of the military, however, prevented further mischief. A second attack was made on September 10. On this occasion also a few houses were burnt and a few non-Muslims were killed. Gurkha soldiers were at the time posted in the town and they immediately restored peace. A few days later, Muslim military replaced the Gurkhas and conditions in the town changed. There were reports of young women and girls being raped by the Muslim soldiers. On October 8, the Muslim military were to leave and, on that day, a determined and large-scale attack was made on the people of Bhakkar. The Muslim military were seen helping the hooligans, and looting continued the whole day. There was considerable loss of life and property. Many houses were set on fire and over three hundred persons were killed.

At Darya Khan, a Muslim mob attacked the town on October 2. The non-Muslims were placed in a house, on the upper storey of which Muslim soldiers mounted guard. During the night the house was attacked by a Muslim mob and several hundred persons were killed. The military guard merely fired shots in the air. Some of them even shot at the people under their protection. There was large-scale killing and looting at Hassan Shah.

In Mianwali there was peace until the end of September. The Deputy Commissioner had, however, passed an order, on September 15, that all non-Muslims must surrender their arms. The matter was represented to the Governor when he visited the town, a few days later, but the non-Muslims continued to remain without any means of defending themselves against a possible attack. Many non-Muslims moved into a camp set up near the Deputy Commissioner's house. This camp was attacked on the evening of September 28. The town was attacked the same night and the attack continued for three or four days. The shops in the bazaar were broken open and set on fire. Within a short time the whole town seemed to be ablaze. An eye-witness said: "I, along with

my family members and with about two hundred other non-Muslims, was taking shelter in a deserted house. The Muslim mob surrounded us and gave us an ultimatum that either we should embrace Islam or we would be put to death and our womenfolk would be carried away to the villages. All of us agreed to embrace Islam. In spite of our declaration we were all dragged out and our womenfolk were molested and disgraced in our presence. They were searched and stripped of their last jewellery and many of them were beaten. On coming out we saw that a big Muslim mob along with military was standing there and women and virgin girls were being loaded forcibly in military trucks. The whole town wore a ghastly appearance and the streets were full of heaps of dead. We had to walk on dead bodies as we went to the mosque. In our presence many young children were dashed against walls. Suckling babies were snatched from the arms of their mothers and torn into bits. *Goondas* and Muslim mobs with the military were busy in a general massacre and looting. Groups of men were pouring in, carrying rifles, daggers, hatchets and other deadly weapons. We were taken to the house of Haji Abdur Rehman Khan, a Muslim League leader. On all sides the town presented a dreadful scene which we could not bear. The attackers had sacked the whole town. Not a single shop or house, belonging to a non-Muslim, was left which had not been swept clean. The pillaged houses had a desolate look with the doors wide open as if no one had ever lived in them."

Dera Ghazi Khan District

The importance of the Muslim League and its programme of establishing an exclusively Muslim theocratic State of Pakistan were almost unknown in the far-flung district of Dera Ghazi Khan. The river Indus acted as a barrier against extraneous influences. There is no railway in the district and the only means of transport available to the people are motor lorries, bullock-carts or camels. A number of ferries ply at various points on the river and a boat bridge, during the winter months, furnishes access to Muzaffargarh. During the summer months, when the volume of water in the Indus increases, the boat bridge is dismantled and the crossing is made by steamer. The local politics were inspired and controlled by the tribal chiefs, of whom the most important was the head of the Laghari Tribe. He was a member of the Unionist

Party and for some time held the office of Minister. He exerted himself in preserving peace in the district and his influence was a strong steadying factor. The Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police also took timely action in checking the forces of lawlessness and sent for Gurkha military, to guard the towns and refugee camps, and patrol the countryside. It is also gratifying to record that the Muslim police and the Border Constabulary displayed, on the whole, a commendable sense of duty, though in a few instances their conduct was marred by an apathetic indifference towards the safety of the non-Muslims in their charge. In one or two cases they even gave support and assistance to the hooligans and shared the loot.

There were no large-scale mass murders of non-Muslims in the district. The total number of Hindus and Sikhs was less than seventy thousand, comprising only 13 per cent of the population, and they resided, for the most part, in the towns of Dera Ghazi Khan, Jampur, Rajanpur and Taunsa. In the villages a few scattered families handled the rural commerce and trade. When news of disturbances across the Indus reached Dera Ghazi Khan and signs of unrest began to show, these isolated pockets were vacated and the non-Muslims moved to places of comparative safety. As soon as they left, the Muslims looted the entire property left behind. In some outlying villages, the non-Muslim residents were attacked and forcibly converted to Islam. Those who resisted were put to death. In a few cases, refugees travelling to Dera Ghazi Khan or Rajanpur were attacked, on the way, and looted. There were a few instances of arson in villages but these stopped when someone gave currency to a supposedly official announcement that the property of the non-Muslims belonged to Pakistan and should not be destroyed. The total loss of life in the district was not considerable though the non-Muslims were deprived of almost all their property. A number of girls were kidnapped and subsequently recovered. The converted persons were, in due course, evacuated to India under escort.

Almost the first outbreak of lawlessness occurred, curiously enough, in Choti, the headquarters of the Laghari chief. It is said that Mohammad Khan, the son of the chief, was responsible for this disturbance. A number of non-Muslims were massacred and the survivors were converted to Islam. Kotla Muglan was attacked by a Muslim mob, in the beginning of September, and five Hindus lost their lives. Many more were injured and the

Hindu houses were ransacked and some of the shops were burnt down. The remaining non-Muslim population was compelled to embrace Islam and every one of them was circumcised. The non-Muslim residents of Choti Zarin left their village on August 30, leaving behind seventeen young men to look after the property. On August 31, a Muslim mob attacked the village and killed eight of these young men. They then burnt their bodies after sprinkling kerosene oil on them. The Hindu shops and houses were completely looted. The residents of the villages surrounding Vahowa abandoned their homes and collected at Vahowa. They remained there for some time and were finally escorted to Dera Ghazi Khan from where they were evacuated to Muzaffargarh and India. At Dajal forty non-Muslims lost their lives in the course of a mob attack on September 13. A Sub-Inspector of Police drove away the raiders and escorted the survivors to Dera Ghazi Khan in trucks. A mob attack was made on Ghajaniyan on September 3. Twenty-seven persons were killed and seven injured. The arrival of Dogra soldiers prevented the loss of further life, and the survivors were taken to Dera Ghazi Khan. Mamori was attacked by a Muslim mob on August 30. A number of persons were killed and four girls were kidnapped. The remaining non-Muslims were forcibly converted to Islam. Eight days later they were rescued by the military and escorted to Dera Ghazi Khan. The non-Muslim residents of Chah Patoli Wala ran away to the fields on seeing a Muslim mob approaching the village on the evening of August 31. The Hindu houses and shops were looted while the owners passed the night hiding in the fields. The next morning they escaped to Samina from where the police escorted them to Dera Ghazi Khan. The villages of Suleman, Kasha Dhingana, Gadaie, Paro and Harnand were similarly looted. In each village a few persons lost their lives and looting, on an extensive scale, took place. In Mangrotha Sharqi there were about a hundred houses and a dozen shops, owned by Hindu traders. Towards the end of August, the neighbouring villages of Sokar and Buglani were attacked by the Muslims. All the residents of Mangrotha Sharqi took fright and left the village after locking up their shops and houses on September 3. They took shelter in the police station Taunsa. As soon as they had left, their houses were broken open and looted. A goldsmith who had remained behind was murdered. The next day, a Daffedar of the Border Constabulary arrived and reported the matter to

the Superintendent of Police. All the residents of Mangrotha Sharqi were safely escorted to Dera Ghazi Khan. A Hindu resident of Basti Jhok Hafiz Nur Hassan was murdered on August 31, and his property was looted. The next day, four of the culprits were caught and produced before the Zaildar who reported the matter to the police. Some of the stolen property was recovered from the culprits. The arrival of the Mounted Constabulary, at village Chorhatta, saved the non-Muslims from the assault of a Muslim mob. Village Mehrawala was subjected to a most brutal attack on the evening of September 3. A number of men were massacred and some women were raped. Four girls were carried away. There was extensive looting and burning of shops. The survivors were compelled to accept Islam and all the males were circumcised. Gurkha military arrived the next day and rescued the survivors.

On the evening of September 9 a large mob was seen approaching Rajanpur. Gurkha military drove them away and one of them who was wounded by a shot fired by Gurkha soldiers, was caught and prosecuted. Near Rajanpur occurred probably the worst tragedy in this district. On October 25, a convoy of thirteen trucks, carrying more than four hundred non-Muslims, left Rojhan for Rajanpur. The convoy was accompanied by a Muslim military escort. The refugees were all searched by the Sub-Inspector of Police before they left and deprived of their cash and valuables. Twelve miles from Rojhan, the convoy was attacked by a mob of Muslims. Two Advocates of Rajanpur who had gone to Rojhan to bring out the refugees were with the convoy, and one of them lost his life while trying to defend himself. In all forty-six persons from this convoy were killed and sixty injured. Seven girls were carried away. The military escort is alleged to have helped the Muslim mob in attacking this convoy. A number of non-Muslims, travelling on camelback to Vahowa, were attacked on September 8. Nine of them were killed and their property was looted. A lorry, containing twelve Hindus from Taunsa, was attacked near Pir Adal and looted, in the end of October. Some of the passengers were killed. On October 6, a lorry from Vahowa on way to Dera Ghazi Khan was attacked by a Muslim mob and seven persons were killed. A lorry, travelling from Paiga to Dera Ghazi Khan, was attacked and looted.

In a number of outlying villages, there was little or no loss of life but the residents were forcibly converted and their property was looted.*

Bahawalpur State

Bahawalpur was a predominantly Muslim State and in the months of April and May 1947, the news of the happenings in Lahore, Rawalpindi and Multan and the persistent demand for the partition of the country gave rise to a feeling of insecurity among the non-Muslims. Large numbers of them left the State. They, however, returned home, as the State remained peaceful and their Muslim neighbours gave them assurances of safety. The Ruler acceded to Pakistan and, within a few days of August 15, attacks on non-Muslim life and property began. The Nawab was away in England and did not return till October 1 by which date, out of a total of two and a half lakhs non-Muslims, only about seventy thousand were left alive in the State. Between seventy and eighty thousand had migrated to India and the rest (one lakh) could not be accounted for. They had either perished in the mass massacres which took place throughout Bahawalpur or had been forcibly converted to Islam. The Muslims proclaimed in triumph that the loss of Muslim life in Patiala, Kapurthala and Faridkot had been amply compensated by what happened in Bahawalpur and felt satisfied that the measure of retribution was exemplary rather than adequate.

Almost the first important event in the State was the murder of a number of Sikh passengers at Bahawal Nagar Railway Station on August 19. When the noon train from Bhatinda arrived, the Sikh passengers were dragged out and done to death in a most brutal manner. Soon afterwards rioting broke out in the town and, during the next few days, many stray assaults on non-Muslims were reported. On August 22, several shops in Dhaban Bazaar were looted. On August 26, Muslim hooligans, assisted by the military, launched a determined and large-scale

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* In villages Batal Golcewara, Haidar Vahan, Hajipur, Kotla Sher Mohammad, Jakra Imam Shah, Chah Jamal Wala, Basti Malkhaniwala, Basti Nasir, Naushera Sharqi, Basti Nur Wahi, Basti Rekh, Samina, Sarangwala, Shampur and Udhanewala looting and mass conversions took place.

In Ahmadani Basti, Batah Imam, Chah Bhathari Wala, Bindi, Bohar, Buglani, Basti Chhabri Zarin, Chuni, Fazalipur, Basti Ghali, Basti Ghuman, Hero Garbi, Haut, Kalol Ka'an, Kohar, Kotani, Kotla Dad, Kot Mithan, Basti Lund Shawan, Luteri Shamali, Basti Mad Kasuran, Basti Mari Magrabi, Mirkhar, Phaphari, Pir Adal, Pir Bakhsh Khas, Basti Rai Khana, Basti Ranjehwala, Basti Raman, Ratera, Shniwala Shah Sadar Din and Vadwar looting alone took place. The residents of these villages left, out of fear, and, as soon as they had gone, the Muslims looted their houses and shops.

attack on non-Muslim life and property. Curfew was imposed on the town but this did not stop the carnage as Muslims defied the order and roamed about the streets with impunity, killing, looting and burning. It is estimated that over four hundred persons were killed and many girls were kidnapped. About fifty houses were reduced to ashes.

Travelling by train became a perilous undertaking for the Sikhs and Hindus and attacks on trains from all parts of the State were reported. The news of these attacks, and, more particularly, the murder of the Sikhs at the Bahawal Nagar Railway Station, spread panic in the neighbouring town of Minchinabad and several hundred non-Muslims rushed to the railway station with their luggage, intending to leave for India. A mob of Muslims, accompanied by two Tehsil peons and the Octroi clerk, came up and told them to go back as the Tehsildar had forbidden their departure. The members of the mob began to carry away the luggage and valuables of the non-Muslims who were forced to return home, dejected and deprived of their property. Later, in the evening, the Muslim residents of Minchinabad, assisted by the local police, started looting Hindu shops. Looting continued on the following day, locks on houses and shops were broken open, cattle were driven away and a state of complete lawlessness prevailed. The Sub-Inspector of Police arrived in the evening and tried to restore a semblance of order by firing a number of rounds in the air. He also arrested some of the ruffians. For the next few days there was comparative calm and the non-Muslims began to leave the town on foot, in parties of one hundred or two hundred each. The people had to pay heavy bribes to the police and the military escorting them. The last batch of about three hundred left on September 24. They carried their belongings in fifty-nine bullock-carts. The convoy was stopped near the boundary of Bikaner State and subjected to a malevolent and harassing search in the course of which many valuables and ornaments were taken away, the womenfolk were molested and one young girl was kidnapped. A complaint was made to the Bikaner authorities who immediately retaliated by refusing to let a Muslim convoy go further unless the girl was restored. Fortunately wiser counsels prevailed, the kidnapped girl was restored and both convoys were able to proceed on their way.

Left alone to themselves, the Muslims of Minchinabad plundered whatever was left of the non-Muslim property and desecrated the temples and Gurdwaras.

On August 18, a mob of several thousand armed Muslims attacked the town of Allahabad. The raiders began to loot non-Muslim shops and murder any Hindus and Sikhs they met in the streets. A message was sent to the Hindu Tehsildar that if the non-Muslims agreed to embrace Islam their lives would be spared. Hurried consultations were held and it was decided to accept the terms offered by the Muslims. Several hundred Hindus were marched off to a selected spot and converted to Islam. The next day a Muslim State official arrived and enquired if the Hindus had agreed to be converted of their own free will. His attitude appeared to be sympathetic and the Hindus replied that they had been forced to do so. On this the Muslims prepared to attack the converts, but the State official arrested the leader of the hooligans and ordered his troops to open fire on the Muslims if they attempted to create a disturbance. The non-Muslims were taken to a camp and finally evacuated.

Mitti Roya was attacked, on August 20, by a Muslim mob, assisted by the State forces. About twenty non-Muslims were killed and ten wounded. Their houses were plundered. Further mischief was stopped by the arrival of some British military officers.

A mob of a thousand armed Muslims invaded village Goth Mehro and called upon the non-Muslims to hand over all their cash and valuables. When this demand was complied with, the Muslims fell upon the unfortunate victims of this robbery and began to butcher them. Some women jumped into a well and committed suicide. A number of villagers ran away and concealed themselves in the fields outside. Looting and killing continued till midnight and was resumed in the morning. Over two hundred non-Muslims perished in the course of this holocaust. The few remaining survivors were ceremoniously converted to Islam. The young boys were circumcised, beef was cooked and served to everyone.

In Khankah Mubarak about six hundred non-Muslims were killed. Their shrines were desecrated, and nearly a hundred girls were carried away. The mother of a young boy ran up to save him and offered all her ornaments to a murderous ruffian. The man took the ornaments and, with a bestial laugh, hacked the boy to pieces with his hatchet before the eyes of his mother.

A Muslim Sub-Inspector of Police from Ferozepore came to Mandi Sadiq Ganj, on August 20, and spread the news that he had

been driven out of his home, and the Sikhs had desecrated the mosques by tying their horses inside them. This story, coming a day after the massacre of Sikh passengers at Bahawal Nagar, was the signal for a mass attack on non-Muslim life and property which continued for four days. The Muslim military took part in this assault and shot many unoffending Hindus and Sikhs who tried to run away from the town. The Gurdwaras and temples were desecrated. All non-Muslim houses, shops and factories were ruthlessly pillaged.

In Bahawalpur itself, signs of unrest were witnessed towards the end of August. A Muslim mob collected in front of the house of the Education Minister and, from there, proceeded to the temple of Sanwal Shah. The mob was led by a butcher, Bakhsha, who rode on horseback. When the mob arrived in front of the temple, Bakhsha got down and murdered the temple Pujari. The mob then went back to the city and broke the images in the Kalladhari Temple. News of disturbances in other parts of the State began to arrive and it was rumoured that a mass attack on the non-Muslims of Bahawalpur had been planned for September 13. A Peace Committee consisting of members of all communities had tried to maintain calm in the town but, on September 12, the Muslim members did not attend the meeting of this Committee. The next day it was reported that Muslim tailors had removed their sewing machines from Hindu shops where they were usually kept. At 9 p.m. shouting was heard from the mosque in Chowk Bazaar. Soon afterwards fires were seen rising from a number of non-Muslim houses. The owners who ran out of the burning houses were shot by the military. The disturbances became more widespread and increased in intensity on the following two days, and for the space of three days murder, loot and arson went on in the town of Bahawalpur. It is estimated that nearly one thousand non-Muslims lost their lives and two thousand more were injured. About forty shops and houses were destroyed by fire. The surviving non-Muslims were then taken to a camp and finally evacuated to India.

The worst incident in Bahawalpur State was the massacre of a convoy of Sikhs which left Bhattian Camp on September 26. There were over two thousand men, women and children living in the camp and, when it was found impossible to evacuate them by train, a foot convoy, in charge of a Magistrate and a military escort, commanded by a Muslim Colonel, was arranged. The convoy left for Jesalmer State. At the first halt, the military escort

conducted a wholly unauthorized search for valuables and cash. The refugees resisted and the military opened fire upon them. About forty persons were killed. The convoy then proceeded on its way and, when they arrived at the boundary of Jesalmer State, they were stopped and all the women and girls were separated. The refugees were then completely looted and the men were left to continue their journey to Jesalmer. They were told to be on their guard and warned against a possible attack by the Hurs who might be lying in wait for them. The goat-skins containing the drinking water of the refugees were bayoneted by the soldiers so that they found themselves without any water for their long journey through the desert. A few hours earlier, the Colonel in charge of the escort had sent forward a number of soldiers who concealed themselves round the route of the convoy. When the refugees entered Jesalmer, the soldiers, lying in ambush, opened fire upon them and the refugees were told that they were being attacked by the Hurs. The remaining escort, on the pretext of shooting at the Hurs, began to shoot the refugees and almost the entire caravan was decimated in this manner. The women and girls were taken away and the Officer Commanding received a considerable portion of the loot and the best-looking kidnapped girls. The Magistrate was later suspended and the Commanding Officer taken into custody. He was soon afterwards released and no further action was taken against him.

Hasilpur was another place where the loss of non-Muslim life was very great. The village was attacked, on August 26, by a huge Muslim mob who killed more than four hundred non-Muslims and set fire to almost the entire non-Muslim property. Many young girls were kidnapped. Of these some were later returned. The survivors were forcibly converted to Islam. They were eventually rescued by a British officer. There were many villages in which there was little or no loss of life as the non-Muslims were completely overpowered and, at once, agreed to be converted to Islam.*

* Chak No. 122 is alleged to have been completely looted after the non-Muslims had left.

In the following villages there was no loss of life and the non-Muslims were converted to Islam :

Ablani, Asbani, Asrani, Behli, Bhinda Samad Khan, Bhinda Shahra Lakhvera, Bunga Balochan, Chak No. 10, Chak No. 11, Chak No. 36/3R, Chak No. 147, Chak No. 169, Chhina, Deda, Ghulam Ali, Ghulan Arain, Goth Ali, Goth Lal, Inayati, Jhandani, Jhangi Wali, Jhok Gola, Kaura Bhutna, Kilanjwala, Kirpal, Kukara, Maharan Sharif Marhi Jethi, Mochi Wali, Mohammad Pur, Mubarakpur, Naharwali, Nurpur, Nurpur Nauranga, Pallah, Rathar, Sahr Farid, Sheikhwahen, Sultanarain, Tibbi Sehajan and Zohrkot.

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IV

Why didst thou promise such a beauteous day,
And make me travel forth without my cloak.
To let base clouds o'ertake me in my way,
Hiding thy bravery in their rotten smoke?
'Tis not enough that through the cloud thou break.
To dry the rain on my storm-beaten face,
For no man well of such a salve can speak
That heals the wound and cures not the disgrace:
Nor can thy shame give physic to my grief;
Though thou repent, yet I have still the loss:
The offender's sorrow lends but weak relief
To him that bears the strong offence's cross.
Ah, but those tears are pearl which thy love sheds,
And they are rich and ransom all ill deeds.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE—*Sonnets*

CHAPTER FOUR

EXODUS

THE Muslim League demand for Pakistan was based on the hypothesis that Hindus and Muslims constitute two separate nations, each entitled to a separate and exclusive homeland where they would be free to develop their culture, tradition, religion and polity. On any other ground, the partition of the country and the setting up of a separate independent State for the Muslims would have been indefensible. But the two-nation theory brought the problem of minorities into greater prominence than ever before, and partition, instead of offering a solution, made it even more difficult and more complicated. No matter where the line of demarcation were drawn, there would be Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs on either side of it, in a majority or in a substantial minority ; and, whatever the geographical boundaries of Pakistan, large numbers of Hindus and Sikhs would, overnight, become aliens and foreigners in their own homes. Mr. Jinnah made desperate efforts to evade the issue by promising protection and rights of citizenship to the minorities, but the nature of his demand was wholly inconsistent with these promises. How could millions of foreigners acquire rights of citizenship and equal status with the nationals of Pakistan ; and if they could, why divide India, why not let Muslims continue as nationals of India? Mr. Jinnah could find no answer to these questions and he was finally compelled to suggest an exchange of population. This was such a fantastic idea that he referred to it, first, in a vague and hesitating manner, as if he were doing no more than throwing out a feeler to watch the reactions it brought forth. All he said was: "It is possible that there will have to be exchange of population if it can be done on a purely voluntary basis."* No one took Mr. Jinnah seriously and, for a year, very little was said about the possibility contemplated by him. To the Muslim League, however, it was a matter of great urgency as it offered a complete answer to the opponents of Pakistan. Exchange on a voluntary basis was an impossibility. The non-Muslims of the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Bengal could never consent to leave their lands, the industry and commerce they had built up with

* Mr. Jinnah's interview to the Special Correspondent of the Associated Press of India on December 10, 1945, published in *Dawn* of December 12, 1945.

their money and labour, and become beggars and nomads to satisfy a whim of Mr. Jinnah's ; nor would the Muslims of the United Provinces, Bombay, Madras, Bihar and Central Provinces be willing to abandon their native soil, give up everything they owned and made life worth living, and migrate to distant lands. Human beings take moral and cultural roots in the soil where they live and prosper for generations, and the ties that bind them to the native village and town are not easily severed. The dream of exchanging populations on a voluntary basis was impossible of realization and the Muslim League had to find another way of resolving the difficulty.

The Calcutta experiment did not produce very satisfactory results but it achieved a certain measure of success in that large numbers of non-Muslims were intimidated into leaving their homes even though for a temporary period. The experience gained, proved useful in Noakhali and Tippera. A change of tactics, better organization and more favourable conditions enabled the Muslim League to strike terror into the hearts of the non-Muslims, destroy their property, their self-respect and the honour of their women, and convert them wholesale to Islam. This was a more effective way of dealing with the minorities and obviated the difficulties involved in an exchange of population. The events in Bihar compelled many Muslims to leave the province and seek shelter in Sind, and the question of exchange arose once again. It was now taken up by the League leaders and put forward in all seriousness and with all the vehemence at their command. They became more and more uncompromising on this issue and answered all criticism by uttering scarcely veiled threats, and predicted a horrible doom for those who disagreed with them. On November 25, 1946, Mr. Jinnah, addressing a Press Conference at Karachi expressed the opinion that "the authorities, both Central and Provincial, should take up immediately the question of exchange of population."* This brought forth a storm of protest from non-Muslims all over India. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the Liberal leader, described the idea as "hopelessly impracticable." Sardar Swaran Singh said, "the Sikhs in the Punjab would not tolerate any move to this end." Sardar Patel, addressing the Nagpur University Convocation, characterized Mr. Jinnah's proposal as "absurd" and one which "can never materialize." The Muslim League leaders, on the other hand,

* *Dawn*, November 26, 1946.

expressed their wholehearted approval of the scheme. Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot declared, with great enthusiasm, that "the exchange of population offered a most practical solution of the multifarious problems" of the Muslims. "We are not going to ask Sardar Patel or Dr. Khare for it, but we will get it by our own inherent strength. The exchange of population will wipe out the most important argument against Pakistan which has been persistently fired from the Congress armoury."* The frank avowal and the unabashed threat, implicit in this utterance, were hardly calculated to inspire confidence in the minorities. Pir Ilahi Bux, the Sind leader, said he "welcomed an exchange of population for the safety of minorities" as such an exchange would put an end to all communal disturbances.† Sir Evan Jenkins, the Governor of the Punjab, observed that by advocating an exchange of population the Muslim League was thinking of forcibly driving away the Hindus from the Punjab. This brought forth a protest from Raja Ghaznafar Ali Khan. "This is certainly not so," he said, "the Muslim League will do everything possible to protect the minorities living in the Muslim majority areas and will even be prepared to give what help is possible for any plans of strengthening the sense of security among Hindus where they happen to be living as a scattered minority." But, lest his professions of sympathy were misconstrued, he added darkly: "After what has happened, the present position cannot be accepted with equanimity and minorities which are too scattered and helpless owing to the smallness of their numbers must not be left as a tempting prey to those who can arrange organized lawlessness."‡

Sir Feroze Khan Noon had already threatened to re-enact the murderous orgies of Changez Khan and Halaqu Khan if the non-Muslims took up a refractory attitude.§ Everything was now ready and, in the month of January 1947, the agitation against the Punjab Coalition Ministry was started. We have seen in the previous chapter how it promoted lawlessness and utter disregard of authority, and provided an opportunity for the Muslim League to organize their forces and rehearse the great *putsch* which would solve the problem of minorities once and for all. The agitation culminated in the resignation of the Khizar Ministry and when the prospect of a League Government provoked the Sikh

* *Dawn*, December 3, 1946. † *Dawn*, December 4, 1946.
‡ *Dawn*, December 19, 1946.
§ Speech at the Convention of the Muslim League legislators on April 9, 1946.

leaders into giving vent to their anger and fears in somewhat stupid and boastful words, their utterances were made the excuse for launching a bloody assault on non-Muslim life and property. The Sikhs had opposed the partition of India with even greater vigour than the Hindus, because they felt that as a community they could only expect disaster in Pakistan ; it was, therefore, against the Sikhs that the spear-point of the Muslim League attack was first aimed. In the March riots, the Sikhs of Rawalpindi faced annihilation and large numbers of them left the district. Within a few weeks almost the entire Sikh population (save those who were killed or converted) had migrated from the district. On a somewhat smaller scale a movement of the Hindus from Multan, Jhelum, Attock and Bahawalpur also took place. Some of these non-Muslims went back when peaceful conditions were restored during the months of April, May, June and July.

In Lahore and Amritsar the cauldron of hate and communal passion continued to simmer and boil. In May riots broke out once again with redoubled fury. The Sikhs had asked for the partition of the Punjab and the Congress leaders had taken the matter up with the Viceroy and Mr. Jinnah. There was a danger that Pakistan might lose Lahore, as the Sikhs were agitating for the Chenab as the boundary line between the two countries. The battle for Lahore thus began in May and continued unabated till the city was clear of non-Muslims. Persons residing inside the walled city were stabbed and intimidated, their habitations were destroyed by fire. Homeless and deprived of the means of livelihood, many of them began to leave the city and the volume of exodus increased day by day, till it became a pitiable and ignominious stampede in the month of August.

Towards the end of July, signs of unrest began to manifest themselves in Amritsar and the neighbouring villages. Refugees from West Punjab had been for months relating their sufferings and losses. Tales of misery, anguish and horror received wide currency. Indignation and resentment went on mounting till they passed the limits of human endurance. Every day brought fresh cause for revenge and retaliation. The storm of rage bottled up for so long burst forth in the beginning of August and the Sikhs began to attack the Muslims in the rural areas. In the city of Amritsar, the loss of Muslim life was almost equal to the loss of non-Muslim life during May and June, though non-Muslims sustained considerably heavier losses in property. In Lahore, too,

A train of non-Muslim refugees from West Punjab

the non-Muslims had begun to hit back and the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh volunteers boasted that they had saved many lives by taking the offensive in some cases. There, however, the non-Muslims were fighting a losing battle as the Muslim magistracy and police were openly supporting the Muslim League hooligans and giving active assistance to them in every possible way. On August 11, another determined and, what proved to be the conclusive, attack was launched on the non-Muslims of Lahore. The exchange of population had begun in grim earnest and was going to be achieved by the " inherent strength " of the Muslims. A two-way traffic of men, women and children, hounded out of their homes and running to seek shelter in unknown lands, started and continued for several months. None but those who have travelled in a refugee train or seen a foot caravan on its slow and interminable march can gauge the magnitude of the problems which the Government of India and the Government of East Punjab had to cope with, or the difficulties of transporting, feeding, housing, looking after and providing medical aid to four million people.

The exodus gathered volume and momentum so rapidly that it took some time to organize the machinery for protecting and transporting the refugees and putting it in effective working order. All over West Punjab non-Muslims felt the urgency of leaving Pakistan where, within a day or two, conditions of life became impossible and destruction was the only alternative left. From hamlets and villages the people ran like hunted animals to seek shelter in towns where they hoped to find safety, in large numbers. They were not permitted to take their cattle, their household effects or their cherished belongings. On the way they were harassed, searched and looted ; their young women were molested and carried away. Those who had the misfortune of living in outlying places and isolated pockets found escape impossible. In the towns and cities large concentrations of refugees grew up, and hundreds of thousands of them watched and waited, huddled together in camps like herds of cattle. Food and drink were denied them and they were subjected to frequent attacks. From large villages started foot caravans on the long and perilous journey to the Dominion of India. Some of these caravans were more than a mile long, and progressed slowly, in their long march, from Sagodha, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Balloki on to Ferozepore. From other places evacuation was undertaken by train and motor

lorry. The supply of rolling stock was inadequate and accommodation was extremely limited. Every train was packed inside and outside; people climbed on to the roof and sat balanced precariously on the curved surface. They stood on the footboards, clinging to door-handles, exposed to the hazards of a shower of stones or a volley of bullets. For hours the trains were stopped, for no ostensible reason, while the passengers suffered the agonies of exposure to the sweltering heat of the sun. No food was provided, water was unobtainable, and if anyone left the train, for any purpose, he ran the risk of not being able to return alive. Small children and infants died of thirst and starvation. When babies in arms cried for a drop of water till no sound came from their parched throats, fathers and mothers in despair gave them their own urine to drink. Train after train was attacked by bands of hooligans and armed National Guards, assisted by Baluch soldiers who had been sent as protectors. Evacuation by motor lorries and trucks was neither safer nor more comfortable. The trucks were for the most part roofless transport vans, and the passengers had to stand so that more of them could be accommodated. They travelled thus for hours, along roads infested by murderous gangs. The trucks were frequently attacked and looted. In the foot caravans, decrepit old men and women, unable to withstand the rigours of a long and painful march, lay down by the roadside and expired without uttering a groan till the whole route was littered with bloated and putrefying corpses, animal and human skeletons. There was no time to pause and grieve over the dead ones. The caravan had to march on—a caravan of a defeated people in flight.

It was of this exodus that Mr. Jinnah spoke in his tirade against the non-Muslims. "We have been the victims of a deeply-laid and well-planned conspiracy, executed with utter disregard of the elementary principles of honesty, chivalry and honour." To his own people he said: "Do not for a moment imagine that your enemies can ever succeed in their designs, but at the same time do not make light of the situation facing you. . . . You have only to develop the spirit of the *mujahids*."

There was no co-operation from the officials of the West Punjab Government. Complaints were made that the rolling stock of the trains carrying Muslim refugees from East Punjab was not returned in full. West-bound trains normally consisted of twenty-five bogies drawn by two engines. The trains, sent back, contained only twelve bogies drawn by one engine. Unauthorized

searches continued at all places in spite of Inter-Dominion agreements to the contrary. In Sind, the Premier openly repudiated the authority of the Central Government to prohibit searches. The personnel of the escort was too frequently Muslim* in whom the refugees had no confidence. Their fears were often justified. Insufficient food was supplied to camps and to the refugees on the march. The Government of India did all they could to alleviate the sufferings of their people. Aeroplanes carried foodstuffs to feed the starving refugees. On September 9, six Dakotas loaded with provisions were sent. On October 2, 32,000 lbs. of food were dropped, on October 17 and 18, 12,138 lbs. and on October 21 and 22, 24,924 lbs. of food were dropped.

As an instance of the difficulties encountered by the Liaison Agency in evacuating outlying pockets of non-Muslims and the lack of co-operation from Pakistan officials, the story of how the non-Muslims of Isakhel were evacuated may be narrated.† Isakhel lies beyond the Indus at a distance of about fifty miles from Kala Bagh. It is near the border and not far from tribal territory. When disturbances began in the various districts of West Punjab some Hindus of Isakhel decided to send their families to India, while they themselves remained behind to look after their lands and business. As the situation deteriorated and transport difficulties increased, the relatives in India became anxious for the safety of those who had been left in Isakhel and sent persistent appeals to the Government of India asking them to bring out these unfortunate persons. The Chief Liaison Officer accompanied by Brigadier Keenen paid a visit to Mianwali and contacted the Deputy Commissioner. The Chief Liaison Officer told him that he wanted to see the local conditions for himself and make arrangements for the evacuation of the Hindus of Isakhel. The Deputy Commissioner disapproved of the Liaison Officer's proposal and said that all the Hindus of Isakhel had been voluntarily converted to Islam and that none of them wished to go to India. He offered to show the Liaison Officer statements of converted Hindus, recorded by a First Class Magistrate. The Deputy Commissioner added that any attempt to rescue these men was fraught with the greatest danger and that he would not be responsible if anything untoward happened. The tribesmen, returning from Mirpur (Jammu State), were present in the area

* See an instance of this on page 144.

† The account has been prepared from the records of the Chief Liaison Officer

and they would resist any attempt to take the converts away. According to Islam, the tribesmen believed, a converted person was liable to suffer death if he became apostate and anyone attempting to reclaim such a converted man was subject to the same penalty. The Liaison Officer, however, insisted on going to the spot himself and the Deputy Commissioner had to agree. When Brigadier Keenen approached the Pakistan Commander at Mianwali for help in procuring transport, similar objections were raised and the Pakistan Commander insisted that the Hindus in Isakhel had no right to be evacuated even if they expressed a wish to go to India. Finally, however, the Commander was prevailed upon to place a few trucks at the disposal of the Liaison Officer.

Leaving Mianwali early in the morning, the party arrived at Isakhel at about noon. Anticipating the difficulty of establishing contact with the Hindu converts in Isakhel, a dozen intelligent men from Mianwali had been taken with the party. On arrival at Isakhel, these men were sent out into the city to warn the Hindu converts that Indian troops under Hindu officers had arrived to rescue them, and that now was the opportunity for them to escape. The information received by the Liaison Agency was that the converts had been frightened and intimidated to such an extent that, whenever any enquiry was made from them regarding their desire to go to India, they always replied in the negative. They feared that if they set out on a journey they would be robbed and butchered on the way. The information conveyed by the men from Mianwali, however, reassured them and the converts prepared to leave Isakhel. Objections were raised by the local Commander and the Nawabs of Isakhel who said that the converts did not wish to be evacuated. The Commander came forward with a proposal that the representatives of the Hindu converts were present and wished to speak to the Liaison Officer and Brigadier Keenen. The Liaison Officer, however, replied that the officers of the Indian Dominion had no intention of holding a discussion with the converts or interviewing them. Their orders were simply to have it notified in the city, by beat of drum, that those who were willing to be evacuated should come out and no persuasion of any kind was to be allowed. The Liaison Officer learnt that the Deputy Commissioner had warned the Commander of his visit and that arrangements had been made to tutor some of the converts. The Deputy Commissioner had agreed to

promulgate section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code in the city, and all residents were required to remain indoors for the whole day. Before the Liaison Officer entered the city, the local Commander of Pakistan troops tried to impose a condition that Indian troops should not enter the city and only Pakistan troops should bring the Hindu converts from the city area. The Liaison Officer did not agree as the whole object of his visit to Isakhel would have been defeated by the acceptance of this condition. Finally, it was agreed that the Pakistan and Indian troops would act jointly and enter the city together. A man chosen from the Indian Army and one from the Pakistan Army were accordingly sent in pairs. The Liaison Officer, accompanied by Brigadier Keenen, himself made a round of the city and saw that, on the roof of every second house, an armed tribesman and a member of the Muslim League National Guard with a rifle were present. Their object was to terrify the Hindu converts and not allow them to exercise their free will. The information given by the men from Mianwali and the presence of Indian troops, however, reassured the converts and in about two hours almost every man, woman and child, with as much luggage as they could carry, came out of the city and were placed in trucks waiting near the city wall. The local officers did not provide transport of any kind so that these unfortunate people could only take with them what they could themselves carry. In this manner six hundred and thirty-four persons were rescued.

The convoy, escorted by Indian and Pakistan troops, left Isakhel at about 5 p.m. When the convoy was near village Qamar Mushani, between Kala Bagh and Isakhel, it was waylaid and fired at by a crowd of Muslims. The Gurkha troops returned the fire, killing half a dozen men. Fortunately the convoy reached Mianwali without further mishap.

The District Liaison Officer of Montgomery had a most distressing experience when he went to evacuate some non-Muslims from village Harditpur on July 19, 1948. The Liaison Officer was escorted by two Muslim foot constables while a Hindu driver was in charge of the car in which he travelled. At the village a large number of people assembled, among whom were some sepoys of the Pakistan Boundary Police. The District Liaison Officer was stopped by these sepoys and told not to talk with the non-Muslims whom he had come to evacuate. The sepoys then conducted him and his party to the Jemadar, and reported that Hindus had

entered the boundary of Pakistan without permits. The Liaison Officer informed the Jemadar who he was, but the Jemadar was not satisfied and proceeded to arrest him, his escort and the driver of his car. The Jemadar then searched the party and removed cash and other articles which he found. The Muslim constables of the escort were disarmed and their ammunition was taken away. The Liaison Officer was conducted to village Makhana and produced before an officer who finally allowed him to go away. The non-Muslims could not be evacuated.

There were several attacks on refugee trains. Some of these have been referred to in Chapter Three. A train which left Pind Dadan Khan on September 19, was attacked at three different points of its journey and the loss of life and property suffered was considerable. Near Chalisa the train was stopped by a Muslim mob which carried away nearly two hundred women and killed a large number of men and women. It was attacked a second time near Mughalpur and a third time at Harbanspura. The attack at Mughalpura took place at about noon. Hundreds of people were seen marching along the canal bank to waylay the train and attack the passengers. The authorities did not stop or discourage them and took no preventative action.

On September 24, a refugee train from Wah was attacked near Wazirabad. The train was diverted towards Sialkot as its journey to Lahore was considered unsafe. A mile from Wazirabad it was derailed and a Muslim mob came out of the surrounding fields and attacked the passengers. The Hindu escort drove the mob away and the train was brought back to Wazirabad. At Wazirabad the train was subjected to incessant firing during the night and many refugees were killed.

On October 23, a large batch of non-Muslim refugees left Sialkot by train. The track beyond Jassar was out of order and the District Liaison Officer, Sialkot, informed the Deputy Commissioner that it was inadvisable to send refugees by this train as they would have to leave the train and continue the journey on foot through territory infested by Muslim hooligans. The Deputy Commissioner, however, insisted on sending the train and, at Jassar, all the refugees had to get down and start walking. The convoy had proceeded for half a mile when it was attacked by a large mob of armed Muslims who had been hiding in the sugarcane fields. The attack continued for two hours and the refuges ran in all directions to save themselves. The military

escort instead of defending the refugees began to shoot at them. One of the Sikh guards was shot dead. A number of women were raped at the spot and many young girls were kidnapped. The entire property of the refugees was looted and many of them reached the Indian border, deprived even of the clothes they had been wearing. A conservative estimate places the number of persons killed at five hundred and the number of girls kidnapped at two hundred and fifty. About five hundred persons were injured. A military officer who flew over the place where the attack took place saw the whole area littered with rags and dead bodies.

The attack on a train of refugees from Bannu, at the Gujrat Railway Station in January 1948, resulted in another horrible massacre of non-Muslims. Two trains carrying about two thousand and four hundred non-Muslims left Bannu on January 10. When the trains arrived at Mari Indus the passengers were transferred to one train which left on the morning of the 11th. At Khushab the train was stopped for four hours, and the reason given was that the route via Sargodha and Lyallpur was unsafe, and arrangements were, therefore, being made for the train to run via Lalamusa and Gujrat. The train ultimately left Khushab at 7 p.m. It arrived at Gujrat at 11-30 p.m. It was escorted by a contingent of the Bihar Regiment consisting of a Sikh Captain and sixty soldiers. The driver of the train was a Muslim. At the Gujrat Railway Station the engine was disconnected and driven off. In the dead of night, two sepoys of the escort who went to get water from a tap were attacked by Pathans. One of them was killed and the other was injured ; the guns of both were taken away. Soon afterwards the train was fired at. The military escort replied and firing continued till the morning when the escort found that their ammunition was exhausted. A mob of between two thousand and three thousand armed Pathans now attacked the train. Windows and doors were broken open. The passengers were dragged out and done to death. The train was ransacked and thoroughly looted. The number of persons killed was not less than five hundred. The passengers were well-to-do Hindus from Bannu and they had brought a large quantity of valuables with them. It was said that this attack had been carefully planned and that the train was deliberately brought to Gujrat where armed Pathans in large numbers were present. In was also said that the Pir of Manki Sharif was at that time in Gujrat and was seen supervising and directing the attack.

One of the worst attacks on a lorry convoy took place near Lahore on August 26, 1947. A convoy of thirty-five military trucks, packed with non-Muslim refugees, left Sialkot in the morning. The convoy was in charge of a British officer and Muslim military. The lorries arrived at the Chhota Ravi bridge at 2 p.m. and were stopped. The British officer went back to Sialkot saying that he had to report there for duty. The Muslim lorry drivers went away on the pretext of taking tea. At about 4 p.m. a large mob of Muslims armed with spears and hatchets attacked the trucks. The Muslim sepoys took no steps to beat off this attack and no one from Lahore came to the assistance of the non-Muslims. There was heavy loss of life and when the trucks finally reached Amritsar they were found to contain large numbers of dead bodies and injured persons. Lorries and trucks travelling alone or in twos or threes were frequently attacked. As late as July 1948 travelling by lorry on roads in West Punjab was wholly unsafe.

A foot convoy of more than five thousand persons left Lyallpur on September 11, 1947. It was escorted by Muslim military. It arrived at Balloki Head on September 15, and was attacked by a Muslim mob. The escort joined the mob and began to shoot the refugees indiscriminately. It is estimated that nearly a thousand persons lost their lives. A huge convoy, nearly six miles in length, was attacked at various points of its journey. The refugees in this convoy were without food for days together and, but for the provisions supplied by the Government of India, most of them might have perished on the way.

The kidnapping of young women and the treatment to which they were subjected constitute a sordid chapter in the histoy of human relations. Poor innocent girls, young married women, sometimes with infants in their arms, were forcibly taken away to distant places. They were molested and raped, passed on from man to man, bartered and sold like cheap chattel. Sometimes it was impossible to trace their whereabouts. When representatives of the Indian Dominion went to recover them they were concealed and denied access to their relations. Large numbers of them, when recovered, were brought to a refugee camp at Kunjah. Conditions in this camp beggar description. A young woman of 21, describing her experiences, said: "I stayed in the camp for two months. Camp life was very miserable. We were given *chappatis* full of lime and were constantly molested by the

soldiers. Maulvis used to come and preach to us against the Indian Dominion. They told us that we would go to heaven if we lived with them. They said that it was foolish on our part to go to India as flour was selling there at Rs. 5 per seer, salt at Rs. 10 per seer and the difficulties of obtaining cloth were insurmountable. According to them the Sikhs were not allowing Hindu girls to go beyond Amritsar and were raping them and cutting up their hearts." A party of young women who were brought to the camp said: "We reached the camp on the fifteenth day. It was nothing less than hell. The flour was mixed with lime and drinking water smelt so foul that it made us ill to drink it. When the Muslims gave us food they taunted us by saying that they were feeding witches. Sick children were given wrong medicines and some of them became blind and died as the result of the poisons given to them. The military guards brought their friends at night and molested the young girls in the camp. They pinched our breasts and made indecent jokes ; those who were pregnant were shot down. One day a man caught me by my breast and dragged me. When I moaned and wailed he kicked me and then left me to weep. A young girl of 14 or 15 sleeping by my side was dragged away and raped. When she resisted they kicked her. Her face in the morning looked as if it had been scratched by a knife." A young woman who was forcibly married to a Muslim named Sultan said: "Whenever Sultan came to know of the arrival of the Indian military he would take me out and hide me in pits which were covered from above, leaving very little space for breathing air. Thus he deceived the military several times. One day, the military reached the station unawares. Sultan locked me up in the house and went out. The soldiers called out loudly that if there was any Hindu woman about she should come out. I peeped out of a window and, seeing the soldiers, became frightened, but their assurances convinced me. I was taken out of the house through that window and brought to Lahore."

In some rare instances the girls had the good fortune of receiving kind treatment. There is, at least, one recorded case of a Muslim willingly escorting his Hindu wife to the military camp and making her over to her relatives. A young woman of 22 who was travelling with a foot convoy from Lyallpur said: "When I grew up I found myself an orphan. The people with whom I was living sold me to an old man named Tara Singh. He married me for the purpose of having children and paid Rs. 500

for me. He treated me kindly. When the convoy left Lyallpur we all joined it. The military had robbed us of everything before we left our house. First they took away our arms, then our valuables. On the way, I was separated from my people. I saw men being murdered and women being raped on the wayside. If someone protested he was killed. One woman was raped by many men. I was also raped by three men in succession. A man, at last, took me to his house and kept me there for eight days. He treated me in a beastly manner. He subjected me to physical torture, forced cow bones into my mouth so that I should be converted to Islam, and, when I objected, he thrashed me and made me lie under his bed. He put my hands under the *charpoy* legs and sat down on it to say his prayers. He asked me to repeat the prayers while I suffered agonies of pain. When I could not pronounce the words he uttered, he threatened to shoot me with his gun. After eight days of this torture, the military recovered me. I was taken to Amritsar and then brought to the Gandhi Vanita Ashram." The Lady Fact Finding Officer who took the statement of this unfortunate woman noticed that the extent of her suffering had unbalanced her mind.

A young girl of 12 gave the following story: "The news of the communal troubles in the cities used to frighten us, but the villagers always said, 'Let us wait till the 15th of August and then we will go away.' Trouble came to the neighbouring villages and then my relations collected a group of people and we came out of the village. We had gone only a little way when a mob of Muslims attacked us. I was stabbed in five places. Many people were killed and many ran away. I was separated from my parents. When I recovered my senses I saw two boys of my age lying near me and eight or nine dead bodies. The boys and I were bleeding. We got up and started to go towards the village. A Muslim, Wazir by name, caught me, took me to his village and left me with his sister. I did what his sister told me while Wazir used to go out to attack other villages. Wazir then sent me to his relatives in another village. I became ill and the women in that house were kind to me. When I recovered, the master of the house wanted to marry me. His first wife told me privately not to obey the priest even if I were beaten or threatened. I did what she said and when the priest went away the man gave me a good beating. The old man came to my bed, scratched my face and removed my clothes. I cried out for help to the mistress of the

house, but the man did not listen to her. She then brought her son, and, hearing his voice, the old man left me. After a few days the old man's son sent me to Sir Ganga Ram Hospital at Lahore with a Muslim, but that Muslim took me to the Lahore Jail where many Hindu girls were living at that time. In the evening the wife of Anwar, a Muslim, took me to her house. She had two more girls staying with her already. All three of us used to sleep in one room. Anwar's wife told me that she would marry me to her son when he finished his studies. He was then reading in the ninth class. I stayed in this house for two months. My father was looking for me in Lahore. The military one day came and surrounded the house and rescued me."

Slowly and step by step, the situation was brought under control as the Civil Administration and the Military Evacuation Organization mobilized their resources. There were fatal and agonising delays in procuring transport and escorts, in sending help to the isolated pockets in outlying areas, in searching out the kidnapped women. The Government had to labour against heavy odds. Unprecedented floods broke down the lines of communication. Portions of the railway track in East Punjab were washed away, roads were damaged beyond repair, telephone and telegraph systems were frequently out of order. All the while, refugees in distress continued to make loud and frantic appeals for help to all departments of Government. Some had faith only in the highest and sent personal letters to Mr. Nehru and Sardar Patel.

The correspondence bag of the Prime Minister for the months of August, September and October 1947 contained a curious assortment of letters from all kinds of people. There were letters begging him to exercise his personal intervention to save a son or a wife, a father or a more distant relative. The Prime Minister was asked sometimes to rescue a factory, some piece of machinery, a cash box or an article of furniture. There were letters complaining of the indecision of the Government of India, letters accusing the Prime Minister of lack of sympathy for the non-Muslims, letters charging him with enjoying the fruits of victory at the expense of the Hindus of West Punjab, letters giving details of property left in Pakistan, descriptions of relatives whose whereabouts had not been heard of, apologetic letters, complaining letters, letters informing him of things he knew only too well, letters which began by saying that the writer was taking the opportunity of addressing the greatest man in the world, letters

from persons who claimed to have met the Prime Minister on some occasion, years previously, letters from avowedly total strangers, letters from officials, business men, shopkeepers, rich men, poor men, men in agony, deprived of their property, men asking for a job. One letter began: "Dear Sir, I am a poor and dirty man in the world. I have written one letter for you till now there is no reply. You are enjoying now for the independence. I am sorrowing now for the cause of money." Another correspondent said: "My Lord! I, with heavy heart, state you my whole miserable autobiography." The writer who described himself as a poor student then went on to give a narrative of his scholastic career. A retired headmaster unable to trace his son-in-law wrote as follows: "Worthy of reverence Panditji. It is after the greatest hesitation that I write this to you, knowing that your time is very precious. What has compelled me to write this to you is the fact that in casting about my eyes I fail to find anyone in the world except you who can help me in my calamity."

Day after day, week after week, non-Muslims from West Punjab continued to pour across the border in trains, lorries, aeroplanes, bullock-carts and on foot, till, by the end of December 1947, four millions of them had come to India. All of them had left behind their property and valuables, the majority of them had suffered bereavement; their bodies sick and wounded, their souls bruised with the shock of horror, they came to a new home. There was discomfort in the refugee camps and the future held out uncertain hopes but, at last, their lives were free from danger and the honour of their womenfolk was safe. As they crossed the boundary line and entered the Dominion of India a cry of joy arose from their tired and almost voiceless throats with the spontaneity of a reflex action. Many of them wept with sheer relief as they uttered the salutation, "Jai Hind."

V

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Let there be in Pakistan, the separate centre of Islam,
We shall not in Pakistan have to look at faces of non-Muslims.
The abode of the Muslim Nation will brighten up only,
When in Pakistan there remain no idolatrous thorns.
They (Hindus) whose function is to be slaves have no right to participate in Government,
Nowhere have they succeeded in governing.

—Song recited at the Muslim League Conference at Sultankot (Sind)

"Let the Hindus of Sind leave Sind and go elsewhere. Let them go while the going is good and possible, else I warn them that a time is fast coming when in their flight from Sind, they may not be able to get a horse or an ass or a gari or any other means of transport."

—MR. KHURHO

CHAPTER FIVE

SIND

EVENTS in the newly created* Province of Sind followed a peculiar course of their own. This portion of India was one of the first to be conquered by the Muslims and has always remained a Muslim stronghold. During the British regime it formed part of the Bombay Presidency for administrative purposes until March 31, 1937. The province was not economically rich and, before the Karachi Port attained its present proportions, it was considered to be a drag on the finances of Bombay. The Hindu leaders of the Bombay Presidency were anxious to throw off this burden and often pressed for the separation of Sind from Bombay. At first, however, this proposal was not entertained as the British Government considered it impracticable. The pendulum gradually swung in the opposite direction, when income from the port of Karachi increased, and the Muslims of Sind began to agitate for its separation from Bombay. They demanded that the income from customs should be paid towards the Provincial Revenues in order to make it a self-supporting province. While the British Government were making up their mind about the matter, His Highness the Aga Khan offered to purchase the province in lieu of his loyal services to the British Crown extending over a number of years, and to these he agreed to add a substantial amount drawn from his much accumulated cash and gold. The prospect of his becoming the Nawab of Sind was not unpleasing to a number of persons and the Aga Khan found a great deal of support for his proposition, particularly in the die-hard element of the British peerage. Indian opinion was strongly opposed to this retrograde step as it would have meant the creation of a quite unnecessary autocracy, and, when the Secretary of State for India announced that the Aga Khan's petition had been rejected, the news was received with great relief. Shortly afterwards the Government of India Act, 1935, was passed and Sind became a separate province.

According to the census of 1941 the total population of the province was 45.35 lakhs, of whom no less than 70.7 per cent were Muslims. The economy of the province depends mainly

* Sind was separated from the Bombay Province by the Government of India Act, 1935.

upon agriculture and there are few industries of any importance. It is to be observed that only a little over one-half of the total area is culturable as there are large sandy tracts where nothing grows. Actually, a little less than one-fifth of the total area is under cultivation. The province has spent large sums of money on schemes of irrigation and, in spite of the fact that the annual irrigation expenses amount to Rs. 170.67 lakhs, the total income from land revenue and water cess is only Rs. 125.56 lakhs. Before the partition of the country Sind used to receive a subvention of Rs. 105 lakhs from the Central Revenues and without this contribution it was impossible to balance the provincial budget. These facts give some idea of the poverty of this small province.* The Hindus were mostly petty shopkeepers, poor labourers or tenants of Muslim Zemindars. Although there was a substantial number of Hindus, living in urban areas, who were engaged in business or industries, they represented only a small proportion of the total Hindu population. There were also a few Hindu Zemindars but their number was not considerable. The Hindus of Sind were not aggressive or bellicose like the non-Muslims of the Punjab. They were not given to indulging in political agitation or clamouring for their rights. The impression one gains is that the Hindus had resigned themselves to the theory that the Muslims of Sind belonged to a superior class and were entitled to treat the Hindus as their underlings. The labourers and the poor cultivators were particularly timid and were, at no time, prepared to offer resistance to the Muslim hooligans or to insist upon retaining whatever rights they had in property. Their first impulse, when the disturbances began, was to run away rather than stay and offer fight.

The result of the first elections held under the Government of India Act of 1935 showed that it would not be an easy matter to form a stable Ministry in Sind. The constitution of the parties was such that no single party commanded an absolute majority in the Legislature. The Muslim League secured only eight out of sixty seats. The largest number of seats was won by independent persons belonging to no political party. After a certain amount of unsavoury bargaining with self-seeking legislators, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah succeeded in forming a Ministry. He did

* No mention is made in these figures of the income derived from Central subjects which forms the contribution towards the Central Revenues. Nor is any mention made of the expenses incurred by the Centre on account of Defence and other matters from which the province benefits. The net result, therefore, is what has been pointed out above.

not, however, stay in office long and was defeated by a combination of the Congress and the Allah Bux Group. Mr. Allah Bux now became the Premier and began to seek the assistance of the Congress for the support of his cause. Mr. Allah Bux himself had shown strong national leanings and was not disposed to endorse the Muslim League programme. He even offered to join the Congress and take all his supporters with him, if the Congress would help him to form a stable Ministry. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who was deputed to deal with this matter, however, advised that it would be better in the interests of the province to form a united Muslim Party which should devote its energy and attention to economic and social progress. Had Mr. Allah Bux succeeded in doing this, the Muslim League would have ceased to count as a force in Sind. Mr. Jinnah, however, successfully prevented the formation of such a united Muslim Party and the Muslim League members declined to give their support to Mr. Allah Bux. Even the Hindu Party joined hands with the Muslim League opposition. The position of Mr. Allah Bux thus became precarious. He suffered a defeat on February 13, 1940, and, six days later, tendered his resignation to the Governor. He was, however, asked to continue in office until a stable Ministry could be formed. On February 26, a no-confidence motion against the Ministry was brought forward in the Assembly and Mr. Allah Bux resisted this attempt to dislodge him from office, though he had not withdrawn his resignation, and still professed his readiness to quit. He survived the censure, implicit in a no-confidence motion, by the casting vote of the Speaker. This narrow majority showed that Mr. Allah Bux's position was extremely insecure and on March 18, 1940, his resignation was accepted. Mr. Bundeh Ali Khan, on being called by the Governor, formed the new Ministry. He proved quite unequal to the task of administration, and the peace and economy of the province deteriorated a great deal by his incompetence and self-interest. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was once again asked to resolve the tangled skein of Sind politics; and he drew up what was popularly called the Azad Pact, the terms of which were that Mr. Bundeh Ali Khan was to resign his office as Premier and allow Mr. Allah Bux or Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to take his place as head of the Government. The new Government would not be a League Government though it would include League Ministers and would also have the support of the Congress Party. Mr. Bundeh Ali Khan agreed to implement this Pact but, subsequently, on the

advice of Mr. Jinnah, retracted his promise. The Ministry was overthrown on March 8, 1941, and Mr. Allah Bux once again returned to office. His nationalist leanings had now become more pronounced and he openly took instructions from the Congress High Command in administrative matters. The events which followed the " Quit India " resolution of the Congress in August 1942 agitated him a great deal and he renounced his title of Khan Bahadur. He communicated his decision to the Viceroy in a strongly-worded letter * and the result was that, within two days, the Governor of Sind summoned him to Government House and summarily dismissed him from the post of Provincial Premier. A few months after this Mr. Allah Bux was murdered.† Among the persons tried for this crime was Mr. Khurho who had occupied the post of a Minister in the Cabinets of Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Mr. Bundeh Ali Khan. At the time of Mr. Allah Bux's murder also he was a Minister and was removed from office to stand his trial. Subsequently he became the Premier of Sind.‡

On October 10, 1942, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah was again invited to form a Ministry. He thus returned to power and continued to share it with the Provincial Governor in a varying degree, until the establishment of Pakistan, when he was himself raised to the post of the Governor. He was far from easy in his position as Premier. There was a great deal of opposition even among the Muslim League members, and on February 14, 1945, the Ministry was defeated with the help of some Muslim League votes. Hidayatullah behaved like a chastised child and declared " Sind is not fit for reforms. We in this House are teaching how to be treacherous," and then went away to sulk. As the result of this defeat, however, he reconstituted his Ministry by taking Khan Bahadur Haji Moula Bux into his Cabinet and continued in office. Moula Bux, a brother of Mr. Allah Bux, was not a member of the Muslim League and he was naturally asked to sign the League pledge. Moula Bux refused and Hidayatulla was ordered by the League High Command to reconstitute his Cabinet once again. On March 12, 1945, Hidayatullah resigned and proceeded to reform his Ministry. In the meantime, Moula Bux went to the Governor and told him that *he* was in a position to form a stable

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* For text of the letter see Appendix I.

* † May 14, 1943.

‡ He was once again removed from his post, tried on charges of corruption and theft and convicted.

Ministry if he were given twelve hours' time. The Governor, however, saw no reason why Moula Bux's bargaining should stabilize matters more effectively than the negotiations in which Hidayatullah was engaged. He, therefore, declined to entertain this proposal.

Hidayatullah's new Ministry ran a somewhat dubious and erratic course but succeeded in surviving, mainly, because the members of the Congress Assembly Party were not allowed to attend the session. Attempts were now made to overthrow Hidayatullah and G. M. Syed, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, led the opposition. G. M. Syed was promptly expelled from the League. On February 8, 1946 Hidayatullah again reconstituted his Cabinet. The members of the new Ministry were all Muslim Leaguers. The other groups now formed a coalition opposition under the leadership of G. M. Syed. On March 19, 1946, a no-confidence motion was moved against one of the Ministers. This was defeated by one vote, thirty voting against the motion and twenty-nine for it. The Assembly was then prorogued before any further injury could be inflicted on this drooping and sapless Ministry. The Assembly met again on July 11, 1946, to elect members for the All-India Constituent Assembly. A no-confidence motion was once again tabled but, on the first day, its discussion was avoided by taking up a technical objection and, the next day, the Assembly was prorogued by the Governor. G. M. Syed now appealed to the Governor and asked him to compel the League Ministry to resign. The Governor did not agree. A motion of no-confidence was tabled against the Ministry and it was due to come up for discussion on September 10, 1946. The Ministry hoped to have the support of twenty-nine votes while the opposition consisted of thirty votes. The sixtieth member occupied the position of the Speaker who belonged to the Muslim League, but naturally could not vote. It was expected, therefore, that the no-confidence motion would be passed by one vote. To meet this unfortunate event, the Speaker resigned from his post of enforced and helpless impartiality so that he could vote against the no-confidence motion. The parties now numbered thirty each. The Deputy Speaker, Miss Jethi T. Sipahimalani, would have to sit in the chair, on the day the motion came up for discussion, and this would mean the reduction of the opposition party by one. The resignation of the Speaker had, therefore, reversed the situation and the no-confidence motion must be lost by

one vote. To meet this eventuality Miss Sipahimalani resigned from the post of Deputy Speaker. The result was that there was no one left to sit in the Speaker's chair. Mr. Fraser, a European member, had on previous occasions occupied the chair when both the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker were not available. It is said that he expressed his willingness to take the chair, but as he was the supporter of the Government this would have meant reducing the support of the Ministry by one vote. A stalemate had been reached and expectation ran high as to how this seeming impasse would be resolved. The Governor came to the rescue by exercising his special powers of dissolving the Assembly and ordering a general election.

During the interim period the Hidayatullah Ministry continued in office and exercised every kind of pressure and influence in shaping the course of the elections. The voters were intimidated, threatened and directed to support the Muslim League candidates. Sayad Murad Ali Shah, a supporter of Mr. G. M. Syed, was shot dead in his village by a Muslim League worker. Sayad Jandial Shah, another supporter of the Coalition Party, was arrested and refused bail. Haji Moula Bux stood against a Muslim League candidate and was declared elected. League hooligans avenged their defeat by assaulting him outside the office of the Revenue Commissioner and Returning Officer. He was abused and beaten in the presence of the Returning Officer and the police, but no one chose to interfere. Haji Moula Bux's son, Mansoor, was also belaboured by Muslim League hooligans. Independent Hindu Mukhtarkars were transferred just before the elections. Muslim Presiding Officers, known for their integrity, were made to resign. An official took leave and openly worked for a League candidate. A rich Zemindar undergoing a sentence of twenty years' imprisonment was prematurely released. Land was given to another on condition he helped Sir Ghulam Hussain's son, Anwar. Five hundred persons were brought from Hyderabad (Sind) to impersonate voters in Karachi District. Mr. G. M. Syed complained of last minute changes in his polling stations and Presiding and Polling Officers, indicating a plan of impersonation on a large scale. The election results showed that these efforts had succeeded in attaining the desired object. The Muslim League secured thirty-five seats out of a total of sixty and thus obtained an absolute majority in the new House.

On the creation of Pakistan, Hidayatullah became Governor of Sind. His previous supporter and rival, Mr. Khurho, became the Premier but he was very soon dismissed by Hidayatullah under Mr. Jinnah's instructions and was placed before a Special Tribunal to stand an enquiry into charges of corruption and malpractices. Pir Illahi Bux succeeded Mr. Khurho as Premier. Five daily newspapers of Karachi, soon afterwards, started a campaign against him and demanded his instant removal. As the result of an election petition against him, his election was declared invalid on the ground of corrupt practices and he was forced to resign.

This brief narrative of the political events in Sind shows that Provincial Government was reduced to a travesty of the administrative machinery. Party alignment was based on considerations of personal gain rather than on moral conviction or a desire to do public good. The voting in the General Election of 1945-46, which was fought on the issue of Pakistan, showed that only 46.3 per cent of the Muslim votes were cast for the League candidates ; and only 20.8 per cent of the total electorate voted for the Muslim League. Thus, although the population was predominantly Muslim, the support for the Muslim League was extremely meagre. In the circumstances, it is not surprising that the Ministers were weak and liable to be swayed from their resolve by petty intrigues. Sir Hugh Dow took over the Governorship of the province in April 1941, and, soon afterwards, began to interfere in the day-to-day administration of Government. Mr. Allah Bux, who was the Premier at that time, felt greatly agitated by this circumstance and brought the matter up in the Assembly. He, however, felt helpless and said that he had referred the question to the Viceroy, and added that it was no use his " resigning in a huff." He, no doubt, realized that if he went out of office the Governor would at once be able to find someone more accommodating and less protesting. When personal advancement is the main moving force in politics and where the various parties are unstable and subject to constant change, the Government cannot retain a firm hold on administration and maintain law and order. The various Ministries which held office in Sind never made a serious attempt to deal with this important problem. Disorders were at various times allowed to spread over large areas and undermine the administration. The Pir of Pagaro and the activities of his nefarious band of marauders contributed, in no small measure, to this unfortunate state of affairs, and, in 1942, the Pir's disciples, whose numbers extend into several

thousands, terrorized whole districts by indulging in wholesale murder, sabotage and dacoity. It was only after Martial Law was proclaimed in Sind on June 1942, that these fanatical followers of the Pir could be brought under control. Their suppression was no easy matter, for the Hurs, as these disciples are called, were skilled gangsters, having behind them a history of seventy years of crime. Their chief arm was the axe, although they also possessed large quantities of firearms and ammunition. They had succeeded in overawing the population by using the weapon of reprisal against all unfriendly acts. Their main hide-out was in a thick forest where they could easily evade arrest. The Hurs were essentially a criminal tribe and their activities were not of a communal nature ; but, after their suppression, the spirit of lawlessness which they had disseminated in the province gave rise to a strong anti-Hindu feeling and this was utilized by the Muslim League protagonists in arousing the Muslim masses. A prominent Hur was tried and convicted of the murder of Mr. Allah Bux who had refused to line up with the Muslim League.

The Muslim leaders had, for some time before the establishment of Pakistan, carried on a ruthless anti-Hindu propaganda and their utterances were not calculated to promote peace. Mr. Khurho during his election campaign for the Sind Legislative Assembly in 1945-46 is reported to have said, " I am looking forward to the day when the Hindus in Sind will be so impoverished or economically weakened that their women, even like poor Muslim women now, will be constrained to carry on their heads the midday food to their husbands, brothers and sons toiling in the fields and market places." * Later on, when he became Minister for Public Works, he declared, " Let the Hindus of Sind leave Sind and go elsewhere. Let them go while the going is good and possible, else I warn them that a time is fast coming when in their flight from Sind, they may not be able to get a horse or an ass or a *gari* or any other means of transport."† Agha Badaruddin Ahmad, M.L.A., Deputy Speaker of the Sind Legislative Assembly, in a letter, addressed to the Sukkur District Muslim League Conference, said: " These Muslims are anxiously and restlessly straining their ears to hear the sound of the hooves of galloping horses, the rattling of the swords and the sky-rending slogans of '*Allah-o-Akbar*' of Muslim crusaders."‡ Pir Ilahi Bux, Minister for

* Quoted by Parsram V. Tahilramani in " Why the Exodus from Sind."
† " Why the Exodus from Sind," by Parasram V. Tahilramani.
‡ *Alwahid*, Karachi, dated April 9, 1947.

Education and Local Self-Government,* in the course of a speech which he delivered at Jacobabad in April 1947, said that the Muslims would give the Hindus a fourth battle of Panipat where the Hindus would meet their Waterloo. The Muslim Press in Sind was equally violent. *Dawn*, which is the official organ of the Muslim League, in its issue of September 13, 1947, called upon the Muslim League National Guards to help in searching the baggage and persons of Hindu passengers, both male and female, who were leaving for India. The *Hilal-e-Pakistan*, a Sindhi daily of Hyderabad, published a fanatical article on October 6, 1947, and called upon the Muslim criminals and hooligans to devote their energies in victimising Hindus.

> " You should neither kill nor rob Muslims. On the contrary, your full strength, valour and weapons should be used to wreak vengeance on those people with whom even today thousands of Muslim women are prisoners. . . . Every Muslim who casts his eye on this article and happens to know any dacoit, thief, aggressor or a *Patharidar* should carry our request to him and should instruct him to convey the exact sense of our appeal to members of his Jamiat. . . . You should inform us about your Association or meet us so that we may give you requisite instructions and directions."

This was published after the partition of the country and shows the extent to which the emotions of the Muslim masses were being worked up.

The lead given by the Muslim leaders was quickly followed by religious preceptors and the local Zemindars who saw in this anti-Hindu propaganda an opportunity for the satisfaction of personal greed. The Pir of Barchundi of Ubavero Taluqa in Sukkur District had a large following of *murids* (disciples). He had always supported the League candidates in the Assembly elections and, therefore, enjoyed the confidence of the League Ministers. He began to exhort his disciples to terrorize the Hindus and deprive them of their crops and lands. Qazi Fazal Ullah of District Larkhana is reported to have said, " Take your sword in one hand and your Quran in the other and win for Islam a superior position." The smaller Zemindars urged their tenants to harass Hindus, deprive them of their crops and plunder their houses. The seeds

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* Now the Premier of Sind.

of unrest and communal hatred sown in this manner soon bore fruit.

The attitude of the Sind Muslims towards the Hindus became increasingly arrogant and overbearing. The element of financial gain was, of course, predominant in shaping their conduct. The authorities responsible for keeping law and order were indifferent to this state of affairs and they had no real desire to maintain peace among the two communities. Some time before the partition of the country, a few sporadic attacks on Hindu person and property began in the southern districts of Sind. There were, however, no extensive disorders until the Muslim refugees from East Punjab began to arrive and spread stories of atrocities to which they had been subjected by the non-Muslims. They had been uprooted from their homes. They had seen massacre and looting on a large scale and were not slow to wreak vengeance upon the Sind Hindus and Sikhs. The initiative taken by them was followed up by the Sind Muslims. In some few cases the local Muslims tried to intervene. They promised protection to the Hindus and made half-hearted and feeble attempts to ward off the attacks made by the Muslim fanatics but very soon they, too, joined the band of marauders, in the hope of enriching themselves at the cost of the Hindus. There is mention of one Khan Bahadur Sardar Jogan Khan of village Jogan in Sukkur District who assured the Hindu villagers that he would safeguard their life and property. After the partition, however, he took a prominent part in looting them. Faqir Ghulam Ali, the headman of village Kandri, is mentioned as having saved the lives of the Hindu villagers but not their property, in which he took his due share.

There were two distinct lines of attack upon Sind Hindus. Of these the most important was economic pressure brought to bear from all sides, and, in this, the Muslim officials took a very prominent part. Mention has been made of the attitude of the Muslim Zemindars towards the Hindu and Sikh population. This manifested itself in the deprivation of the crops of the Hindu tenants by the Muslim landlords. The Zemindars refused to give a share of the crop to the Hindu *haris*. The Muslim *haris* refused to hand over the crops of the Hindu Zemindars. The Revenue Authorities demanded payment of land revenue before the due date; and the Muslim *haris* were instructed not to hand over any portion of the crops until the receipts for land revenue were shown to them. They openly carted away the harvested grain while the

Hindu owners looked on helplessly. In one case a Muslim landlord carried away the entire crop reaped by a Hindu tenant. The tenant sued the landlord but, one day, when he was returning to his village, he was waylaid and murdered. Hindus were not allowed to sell movable or immovable property. Even where they succeeded in securing a purchaser, they had to part with their goods for a mere pittance. One shopkeeper in village Bambro in Tharparkar District had to part with his entire stock-in-trade worth several thousand rupees for the paltry sum of Rs. 15. A medical dispensary at Phulji Railway Station was sold for Rs. 100. The District Magistrate of Larkana issued a proclamation that any Hindu selling property would be committing an offence punishable with six months' imprisonment. Three Hindus were actually detained for a number of days upon this charge. Thefts of Hindu property in the rural areas assumed alarming proportions. Cattle were driven away from the grazing fields. Houses and shops were broken into and the goods therein carried away in broad daylight. A curious feature of these thefts was that even doors and windows of houses were removed and carried away. There were cases of dacoities in which the culprits were armed with firearms and battle-axes. One Sub-Inspector of Police removed the tiles from a religious institution in Dadu District. He used the tiles for his own house. The Mukhtarkar in village Ladhedero, District Dadu, asked the Muslim *haris* if they had celebrated Pakistan, which meant if they had looted the Hindu Zemindar of his produce.

Hindu occupiers of houses were driven out and Muslim refugees put in their place. In some cases Muslim refugees were billeted in Hindu quarters and their presence compelled the Hindus to leave. In one case a Hindu factory owner was served with notice that his factory would be taken over unless he purchased a certain quantity of rice for his factory within four days. The owner protested that his factory was working and that he had the requisite raw materials in stock. He was, thereupon, directed to hand the factory over to a Muslim. Millowners were told to take Muslims as their partners on pain of their mills being confiscated. In one case a Hindu was ordered to hand over his mill to a Muslim without any reasons being assigned. In village Daon-Vallo, District Sukkur, the Hindus were asked to leave the village and go to a place of safety under police escort. As soon as they had left, their houses were occupied by Muslim refugees who appropriated all the movable property left behind.

An order was issued by the local authorities calling upon Hindu business men and moneylenders to deposit all ornaments and valuables which the Muslims had pawned with them. These were then returned to the Muslim owners without discharging the debts due from them. Bhoja Mal, a moneylender of Dadu, had the temerity to ask for the payment of his dues. He was attacked and made to read the *Kalma*. He was then forced to drink curd from the same bowl as a Muslim and, after this indignity, he was told to go away. Hindus everywhere were asked to contribute towards Mr. Jinnah's Fund for the relief of refugees. In district Nawabshah, where Hindu oppression was at its worst, the District Magistrate declared that the Hindus must collect a sum of one lakh of rupees, otherwise they would not be allowed to leave the district.

When a large-scale exodus from the province began, the Government introduced a permit system. On February 15, 1948, the Sind Government announced that no non-Muslim would be allowed to leave unless he was in possession of a permit issued by the proper authority. This led to gross abuse of powers and corruption on a very large scale. Only a limited number of permits was issued each day and the applicants had to pay heavily for them. Before a permit could be issued, the intending emigrant had to produce as many as eight certificates proving that he had discharged all his liabilities in Sind. This requirement prompted the Muslims to lay false claims against the Hindus, which meant delay and the expenditure of more money, for the Hindu had no other choice but to pay the blackmailer and obtain a certificate of discharge. Even after securing a permit, the troubles of the Hindu emigrant were not ended. He had to bribe the booking clerk heavily to buy a railway ticket. He was subjected to extensive searches and gross indignities. His womenfolk were undressed and searched under the gaze of men. The searchers took away valuables and ornaments without giving any receipt for them. In some cases even the food intended for consumption on the journey was taken away. An inter-Dominion agreement had been arrived at that no searches would be made and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, assured the Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan that evacuees would not be searched. The searches, however, continued and when the matter was brought to the notice of Mr. Khurho, the Sind Premier, he said: "I do not agree with the Pakistan Government that no searches should be made of the outgoing passen-

gers. Their order seems to be unworkable as it would only mean putting a premium on dishonesty." * This was the manner in which the inter-Dominion agreement was respected by the Provincial Government. In Nawabshah the District Magistrate announced that no Hindu could carry away more than ten rupees with him. The luggage placed in the brake van was removed and, at the end of the journey, the owner found himself without any redress. Muslims entered crowded compartments and drove the Hindu passengers out in order to make room for themselves and, in the process, deprived them of a part of their belongings. Non-Muslim travellers were searched at several stages of their journey, and each time some part of their property was taken away. Sometimes when they arrived at their destination, they found themselves dispossessed of everything they had except the clothes they wore. Non-Muslims about to leave Refugee Camps in Karachi by boat were subjected to further searches. A juggler was deprived of his entire apparatus although it was of no use to the searchers.

Large numbers of temples and places of worship were desecrated by Muslim hooligans. In some cases the object was to loot, but more often the purpose was to give offence to the religious susceptibilities of the non-Muslims. Images were broken and thrown out of temples. The holy books were torn up, thrown in the mud and trampled upon. In many cases they were set fire to and burnt. If resistance was offered by the priest he was attacked and beaten and, in a few cases, murdered. The Sikhs from whose hands the Muslim refugees appeared to have suffered most in East Punjab were made the special target of attack and there were few Gurdwaras which escaped the attention of the looters.

This state of affairs made life impossible for the non-Muslims in Sind. Even where their life was safe their property and means of livelihood were taken away from them. When they wanted to leave, innumerable difficulties were placed in their way and *en route* they were subjected to all types of harassing indignities. In this way the bulk of the non-Muslim population emigrated from Sind. The figure given by the Pakistan Government in a *communique* published in the *Hindustan Times* in its issue of January 19, 1949, is 8,21,000, but it is estimated that out of 12 lakh non-Muslims, nearly 10 lakhs have already left and the exodus has not yet ended.

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* Mr. Khuhro was subsequently found guilty of having in his possession property stolen from non-Muslims.

The loss of life in Sind was not on the same scale as in West Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province but the number of murders, conversions and abductions was by no means inconsiderable. It is not possible to obtain exact figures though the murders must run into thousands and the number of persons forcibly converted to Islam cannot be less. The number of women abducted is probably not very large and the evidence of Hindu refugees shows that it was the poor labourers and *Odds* who suffered most in this respect. In the urban areas there were numerous cases of dacoities, in the course of which murders were committed. Soon after the arrival of Muslim refugees from East Punjab, crimes of violence increased rapidly. Mention is made, in the evidence of refugees, of marriage parties being attacked and looted. These attacks were invariably accompanied by loss of life. Lorries of refugees leaving villages were waylaid and attacked. In the town of Dadu, five Hindu families were forcibly converted to Islam and paraded through the streets, in a procession. There were a few attacks on trains involving loss of life. In village Madeji, district Sukkur, a Muslim mob attacked a Hindu lorry, murdering a number of persons. The culprits were identified and later apprehended by the police but then released, without further action being taken against them. The District Magistrate of Nawabshah openly declared that he wanted to do something for the Muslim refugees, and this emboldened them to such an extent that they made indiscriminate attacks on the lives of Hindus.

Particular mention must be made of the disturbances which took place in Quetta, Hyderabad and Karachi. Quetta is in Baluchistan but it is convenient to deal with that town in this chapter.

There was a general feeling of unrest in the minds of the Quetta Hindus but they decided to join hands with the Muslims in celebrating the establishment of Pakistan. On August 19, 1947, a number of Muslim refugees arrived in the town, and the stories of what they had been through greatly agitated the local Muslims. An extensive plan to attack Hindu houses was prepared and at about 9 p.m. on the 20th, a crowd of several thousand Muslims, drawn from among these refugees and the neighbouring villages, surrounded the entire town. Rumours had been whispered through the town that such an attack was contemplated and some prominent Hindus brought the matter to the notice of the police. No steps, were, however, taken to prevent the massacre

that followed. Hindu houses all over the town were attacked, looted and burnt. The rioting went on throughout the night and the Hindus suffered very heavy casualties. There was a brief lull for about three hours on the morning of the 21st, and then at 9 a.m. the attack was resumed. Large numbers of Hindus and Sikhs lost their lives. Property worth over a crore of rupees was destroyed and it is estimated that more than a thousand persons were murdered. On the afternoon of the 21st, the Dogra troops entered the town and controlled the situation.

When news of the massacre in Quetta reached Sind a panic spread among the Hindus. Their fears were enhanced by a number of robberies and assaults which appeared to have been inspired by the happenings in Quetta. There was, however, no large-scale killing until December 17, 1947, when extensive rioting broke out in the town of Hyderabad. On December 16, 1947, a meeting was held in Hyderabad at which speakers gave false and exaggerated accounts of the burning of Ajmer Sharif and the murder of hundreds of Muslims. It was said that a train carrying large numbers of Muslim corpses was due to arrive at Hyderabad on the 17th. A huge mob of Muslims gathered at the railway station before the arrival of the train. When the train came it did not contain any corpses, but several Muslims who had come from Ajmer Sharif related their tales of suffering. These stories worked up the frenzy of the Muslim mob who at once left the railway station and invaded the entire town and started killing and looting. Hindu property and schools were attacked and burnt. It is estimated that over two hundred and fifty Hindus were killed in the course of this furious assault, while a thousand houses were looted. It is stated that Qazi Mohammad Akbar, Parliamentary Secretary, also took part in the looting. Hyderabad was a large and prosperous town with a majority of Hindu population. The business was almost entirely owned by Hindus who, therefore, suffered a great deal in this rioting. Trains of Hindu refugees from the rural areas were attacked and looted. The disturbance continued for several hours before it could be controlled.

These disorders in the southern districts of Sind compelled the non-Muslims to leave their homes, and large numbers of them arrived in Karachi on their way to the Indian Dominion. Some had to go by train, others by boat. Some of them were living with friends and relations in different parts of the city, while others

had been housed in temporary refugee camps. Towards the end of 1947, the city of Karachi was overcrowded with these evacuees. On the morning of January 6, 1948, a party of Sikhs, numbering between two and three hundred, including women and children, arrived in Karachi. This party had travelled under police escort but no information of their arrival was given to India's Deputy High Commissioner in Pakistan who was stationed at Karachi. A mob of Punjabi Muslims saw the Sikhs arrive on the railway station and immediately showed signs of great agitation. The authorities responsible for keeping law and order displayed a reprehensive degree of indifference in regard to the safety of these Sikhs, and, instead of conveying the Sikhs under strong police or military escort, they sent them in open carriages to the Gurdwara of Ratan Talao which, at this stage, was surrounded by houses occupied by Muslim refugees.

News of the arrival of these Sikhs spread throughout the city and, within a very short time, a large crowd of Sindhi and Punjabi Muslims armed with hatchets, swords, knives, crowbars and *lathis* arrived in front of the Gurdwara and began to stone it. The Sikhs had locked themselves inside the Gurdwara but some of the crowd scaled the walls and entered the Gurdwara compound. They, however, found further progress barred. The Muslim neighbours on seeing this began to throw bags of live coal into the Gurdwara and soon the entire buiding was on fire. Many of the Sikhs were burnt alive. Those who tried to escape by coming out were set upon by the mob and done to death. At about 1-30 p.m., while this wholly one-sided battle was in progress, the police arrived with two trucks in order to remove the Sikhs from the Gurdwara. When the trucks were full the mob prevented the departure of the trucks, and all the passengers were butchered on the roadside. An eye-witness stated: "The crowd tried to break open the doors (of the Gurdwara) but they could not do so. There was one building in between the Gurdwara and the Ram Mandir and that building was occupied by Muslims. The inmates of that house threw coal bags from the top of the building in the Gurdwara compound for setting fire to it. At this stage a party of twenty armed constables arrived on the scene and asked the mob to disperse but the crowd refused to do so. The police kept silent." Another eye-witness stated: "At about 1-30 p.m., when this bloodshed was going on inside the Gurdwara, the police officials tried to remove the Sikhs in two trucks but the *goondas* did not allow the trucks to go and broke open the doors and

windows and started killing them in the trucks under the very nose of the police."

The rioting continued in front of the Gurdwara till after 2 p.m. and the hooligans carried away a number of girls from the spot. The mob was not pacified by this massacre ; in fact, their frenzy increased and they rushed into other quarters of the city shouting: "Kill the *kafirs*. Kill the Hindus. Loot the *kafirs*." The hooligans indulged in an orgy of indiscriminate stabbing and killing and many innocent women and children lost their lives in the course of the afternoon. A mob went to the railway station and attacked Hindu passengers. Some men entered the house of a Gujerati Hindu and carried away three young girls. Their mother was so overcome with grief that she picked up her two infant children who had been left behind and jumped from the balcony of her house. All three were killed instantaneously. The father was thrown down from the same balcony by the hooligans and he met the same fate. Some *goondas* were seen attacking a young boy of seven. They stabbed him and then tearing his legs apart threw the pieces of bleeding flesh on the ground. Dharmasalas and refugee camps containing large numbers of Hindus were attacked. The inmates were murdered and looted and a number of young girls were abducted, women were raped and subjected to horrible tortures.

At the railway station, the Hindu passengers, waiting on the platforms and arriving by trains, passed through a terrible ordeal. As soon as a train arrived, murderous-looking individuals surrounded it and started stabbing and looting Hindu passengers. The Hindus rushed into the waiting rooms but there, too, they were not safe. A big Zemindar of Sind who was formerly a member of the Legislative Assembly arrived in Karachi that morning and, when he saw the train being attacked by Muslim *goondas*, he took out his gun to defend himself. A Sub-Inspector of Police arrived and took away the gun from him, saying that he had left his own behind. The Sub-Inspector then disappeared with the gun and the Muslim crowd attacked the Zemindar's carriage and carried away his entire luggage. The Hindus, marooned in the waiting rooms, could not get food or drink and policemen posted to protect them charged as much as a rupee for a glass of water.

The temples and Gurdwaras in the city were attacked and desecrated. Guru Ramdas Durbar, the Jagannath Temple, the Chidan Kashi Mandir, the temple of Bhai Vassyaram, the temple

of Guru Nanak, the Gurdwara near Rambaugh Garri Khata, the temples of Hanumanji in Ranchore Lines, the Sitla Mandir on Lawrence Road, the Jethmal Gurdwara in Garri Khata, the Swami Narain Temple, the Bhagnari Temple, and the Sharda Mandir were all attacked and wherever the mob could find any holy books they tore them or set fire to them.

In these disturbances the *goonda* element predominated but there is unimpeachable evidence showing the participation of large numbers of persons belonging to the middle classes. Even Government officials took part in the plunder. Well-dressed men were seen going about looting Hindu shops and houses and carrying away whatever could be of use to them. Members of the Pakistan Secretariat staff were subsequently found in possession of large quantities of looted property. There was considerable agitation against the action of Government in searching the houses of these officials and a deputation on their behalf represented to the Pakistan Authorities the unwisdom of this seemingly pro-Hindu conduct.

The rioting in Karachi continued for two days before the fury of the mob was spent. No accurate estimate of the casualties is possible. Several lorry-loads of dead bodies were taken to the cremation ground, piled up in heaps, sprayed with petrol and burnt. The number of those killed cannot have been less than three hundred and the number of injured about twice this number.

The events in Sind show that apart from the massacres of Hyderabad and Karachi there was no large-scale or organized attempt on the part of the Sind Muslims to exterminate the Hindus. The insidious propaganda which the League leaders had been carrying on throughout India for a number of years had made the Muslims arrogant and hostile towards the Hindus. This propaganda, coming at a time when the spirit of lawlessness had spread throughout Sind, gave rise to a feeling of insecurity and this further emboldened the Muslims. The prospect of loot and financial gain made them callous and regardless of the Hindu sufferings. The arrival of the Muslim refugees from East Punjab acted as a spark on this mass of inflammable material and set the whole province ablaze. In the southern districts, murders, dacoities and robberies with violence were on a much larger scale than in the northern districts where the hooligans mostly confined themselves to looting the property of the Hindus and driving them away from their homes.

VI

Last came Anarchy : he rode
On a white horse, splashed with blood ;
He was pale even to the lips,
Like Death in the Apocalypse.

And he wore a kingly crown ;
And in his grasp a sceptre shone ;
On his brow this mark I saw—
'I AM GOD, AND KING, AND LAW !'

And a mighty troop around,
With their trampling shook the ground,
Waving each a bloody sword ;
For the service of their Lord.

And each dweller, panic-stricken,
Felt his heart with terror sicken
Hearing the tempestuous cry
Of the triumph of Anarchy.

Then all cried with one accord,
' Thou art King, and God, and Lord ;
Anarchy, to thee we bow,
Be thy name made holy now !'

And Anarchy, the Skeleton,
Bowed and grinned to every one.

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY—*The Mask of Anarchy*

CHAPTER SIX

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

THE North-West Frontier Pathan is a curious mixture of brutality and kindness, greed and generous hospitality, unstinted loyalty and venomous treachery. He combines a fanatical jealousy for the honour of his womenfolk with a notorious perversity in his sexual relations. He will kidnap a woman or a man with wealthy and influential connections for the sake of a rich ransom, and risk his life and liberty to steal food for his hostage. He will expose himself to any danger in order to protect a worthless neighbour, and kill his greatest friend if he suspects him of having an impure thought about his wife or daughter. Quick-tempered and easily excitable, he is ready to use his gun or dagger at the slightest provocation. It has been said that he loves his gun more than his brother. But more than either of these, he loves his personal freedom which he exalts to the level of licence. He makes a fetish of his honour and never forgives what he considers an insult or slight to his self-esteem. Seven hundred years of Indian influence have not obliterated his distinct racial character, and though he has imbibed the culture of his adopted home, and intermarriage has diluted his race purity, he is easily recognizable by the peculiar cast of his features; he speaks a different language; and observes different customs. His songs and dances are redolent of his far-flung origin and have more in common with the folk art of Central Asia than the forms in which the Hindus and Muslims of India express their emotional complexes.

At the census of 1941 the total population of the North-West Frontier Province was 30.38 lakhs of which 91.79 per cent were Muslims. The districts of Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu had the largest proportion of non-Muslims who comprised 14.2 and 13 per cent respectively. In Mardan there were only 2.1 per cent Hindus and in Hazara only 3.8 per cent. In the rural areas the Hindus formed a very small and helpless minority of the population. The members of their community were mostly petty shopkeepers and traders. In some villages there were not more than two or three Hindu families and their safety depended entirely on the goodwill and friendly relations of their Muslim neighbours. The position of the Hindus in the cities was stronger. Their business was more

lucrative and they wielded greater financial power. They paid 80 per cent of the total income-tax of the province.

Life in the Pathan country is hard and economically precarious. Food is scarce and industrial occupation is negligible. Scarcely one-fourth of the total province is under cultivation. To earn a living by productive effort is not always easy. Agriculture, fruit farming, trade and ordnance factories, both licit and illicit, do not provide employment for all, and a considerable proportion of the population lives on blackmail, hush money, kidnapping fees, moneylending and looting. Primitive, illiterate and ungovernable, the Pathan is singularly susceptible to catch-phrases and slogans.

This malleable and inflammable material was subjected during recent years to two distinct and opposing forces. The two Khan brothers, Dr. Khan Sahib and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, strove to shape the Pathan ideology in the mould of Gandhian ethics and achieved a remarkable degree of success. Dr. Khan Sahib as the head of three Congress Ministries piloted the province through some difficult times, while his younger brother, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a rich landlord, who give up a life of luxury and ease, organized the Red Shirt movement. The "Red Shirts" was the popular name of the army of Khudai Khidmatgars who wore a distinctive red-coloured shirt and pledged themselves to peace, non-violence and public service. They were followers of Gandhiji whom they referred to as "Malang Baba."* Their numbers ran into thousands and their leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan or Badshah Khan, as he was sometimes called, soon came to be known as the Frontier Gandhi. The manner in which thousands of unruly and turbulent Pathans accepted the creed of *ahimsa* and practised it, evoked the wonder and admiration of all, and it was said that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan had worked a veritable miracle in the Frontier. The Red Shirts remained non-violent under the gravest provocation and on, at least, one occasion brought peace to the city of Peshawar at a most critical moment.

The other force at work was the sinister influence of the Muslim League exercised through Sardar Aurangzeb Khan and Abdul Rab Nishtar assisted by the local British and Muslim officials. During the election campaign of 1937 these officials opposed the Congress Party and the Khudai Khidmatgars in every

* Literally an ascetic *faqir*.

conceivable manner. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Bhulabhai Desai were not allowed to enter the province. The nomination papers of Khudai Khidmatgar candidates were rejected by Returning Officers on scarcely tenable technical grounds. "A Deputy Commissioner forcibly prevented the voters from going to cast their votes with the result that about six hundred people could not record their verdict. Another officer, in charge of conducting the elections throughout the province, openly conspired with the rivals of the Congress and helped them to choose places and dates of polling, and gave a free hand to the Polling Officers to act in their interests." *

It is to be remembered that the Governor and the officials of the North-West Frontier Province exercised dual functions. In respect of the non-tribal areas the officials were under the Ministry, and the Governor acted through his Ministers. In respect of the tribal area, however, the Governor acted as the agent of the Governor-General and was not answerable to the Ministry in power. The officials also acted independently of the Ministry. Thus a Secretary was answerable to the Ministry for acts and orders relating to the non-tribal area, but he was answerable only to the Governor (as agent to the Governor-General) for all acts and orders relating to the tribal area. This somewhat anomalous position placed the majority of the officials beyond the strict control of the Ministry and enabled them to take an active part in supporting the League agitation.

So strong, however, was the hold of the Congress over the Pathan mind that no Muslim Leaguer was returned to the first elected Legislature. Mr. Jinnah paid a visit to the province, but his cries of appeal fell on deaf ears. In his own words he "was, to put in one word, dismissed from the Province."† Thus, until 1938, there was no Muslim League Party in the Provincial Legislative Assembly. In January of that year several Muslim agitators, including Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Maulana Shaukat Ali Khan, were sent to the North-West Frontier Province and their efforts succeeded in winning a measure of support for the Muslim League. Eight members of the Assembly elected on the Independent ticket formed themselves into a nucleus of the Muslim League Party in the Legislature and, by the end of 1945, their number had swelled to eighteen. This figure fell to seventeen

* "Frontier Speaks," Mohammed Yunus, 1942.
† *Pakistan Times*, April 20, 1948.

after the General Elections of 1945-46. At about this time, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan lost the active support of the League High Command, owing to his incompetence and inability to deal with corruption and maladministration; and Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, originally a staunch nationalist and Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislature, came into prominence as a leader of the Muslim League Party. He is the present* Premier of the North-West Frontier Province.

We shall presently see what results were brought about by these two opposing forces and in what manner; but for the correct appreciation of these matters it is necessary to review briefly the recent political events in the Frontier.

The Government of India Act of 1935 provided for a Provincial Legislature of fifty members. The first elections under the Act were held in 1937, and the party position was as follows: Congress 19 (including 15 Muslims), Hindu and Sikh Nationalist Party 7 and Independents 24 (including 21 Muslims). The Congress Party did not come forward to form a Ministry at once as negotiations between the Congress High Command and the British Government regarding the exact position of the Provincial Governors in administrative matters were proceeding, and Sir George Cunningham, the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province, invited Nawabzada Sir Abdul Qayyum to form a Ministry. This invitation was accepted. Sir Abdul Qayyum was able to secure the support of some independent members and the Hindu and Sikh members of the Nationalist Party. The Ministry, however, did not command a majority in the Assembly and Sir Abdul Qayyum's tenure of office was very brief. For some months the Assembly was not convened but, as soon as it met, a no-confidence motion, tabled by Dr. Khan Sahib on September 3, 1937, was carried by twenty-seven votes to twenty-two. Four days later Dr. Khan Sahib formed a new Ministry and this remained in office till October 1939. Its achievements, during this brief period of a little over two years, included the abolition of the institution of Honorary Magistrates and the removal of Zaildars and Muafidars. These individuals had constituted a body of corrupt, sycophantic supporters of the British officials and their dismissal deprived the bureaucracy of a permanent and reliable instrument of their designs. Their own discontent made them walk into the League camp.†

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* 1949.

† See note in Appendix I, page 317.

After the declaration of war, the Congress High Command issued instructions to all the Congress Ministries to resign. Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry complied with this order and the Governor took over the administration of the province under the provisions of section 93, Government of India Act of 1935. This state of affairs continued till May 25, 1943. The proclamation under section 93 was then revoked and the Governor invited Sardar Aurangzeb Khan to form a Ministry. During the movement of 1942, ten members of the Congress Party in the Provincial Legislature had been arrested and imprisoned. Six of these were later released. The Ministry formed by Sardar Aurangzeb Khan did not command a majority but the Congress Party, attenuated by the incarceration of four members and the indisposition of one more who was in hospital, did not take any part in the Assembly proceedings and remained absent from the autumn session of 1943. The position of the minority Ministry was somewhat precarious and it felt compelled to offer the bribe of money and office to its supporters. Its first Legislative Act was to pass a Bill increasing the salaries of the Ministers to almost three times the previous amount. The number of Ministers was increased from three to five, and seven of its supporters were given various other posts as Speaker, Deputy Speaker and Parliamentary Secretaries.

These artificial props, however, did not succeed in keeping the Ministry long in power and on March 12, 1945, Dr. Khan Sahib again tabled a no-confidence motion against the Ministry and this motion was carried by twenty-four votes to eighteen. He had received instructions from the Congress High Command to accept office and form a Ministry after the defeat of the Aurangzeb Khan Cabinet. The strength of the ministerial party at this time was twenty-seven. The Muslim League Party, as stated above, numbered eighteen. General elections were again held in 1945-46 and these elections witnessed the activities of the alliance formed between the Muslim League and the officials. Mr. Jinnah again visited the province. A number of students from Aligarh were sent to preach communal hatred. The Congress voters were threatened and intimidated by Police and Civil officials. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan said: "I know for certain that women voters in the constituency of Qazi Attaullah Khan, Education Minister, were waylaid by certain armed *goondas* and, even when they managed to reach the polling booth, they were not permitted to poll. Because of this about three hundred ladies could not vote. Similarly, another of our candidates was deprived of about four

hundred votes in Razzar Constituency. In one constituency the ballot-box of the Congress candidate had been broken."* In spite of these efforts the Congress was victorious at the polls. The party strength was: Congress 30, Muslim League 17, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind (Nationalist Muslims supporting the Congress programme) 2 and Akali 1. The voting showed that only 25 per cent of the total electorate voted for the Muslim League. The Congress defeated the Muslim League candidate in as many as nineteen contests while the Congress suffered a defeat in eight cases only.

The Congress, with a clear majority in the new Legislature, now formed a Ministry under the leadership of Dr. Khan Sahib and remained in office until August 22, 1947. Mr. Jinnah wanted Lord Mountbatten to make the Ministry resign. Sir Olaf Caroe, who was then the Provincial Governor, did his best to make Dr. Khan Sahib give up office. He called Dr. Khan Sahib on March 18, 1947, and referred to the presence of a large number of Red Shirts in Peshawar in most deprecating terms. A few days later he summoned the Cabinet and said, "The Englishman who did not allow the reforms to be introduced into the North-West Frontier Province in 1920 was a fool. He sent the Pathans into the Congress arms. I shall see that this mistake is rectified." He added that, since the last elections, the Muslim League had gained strength in the province and, therefore, the Assembly and the Ministry no longer represented the people. He asked Dr. Khan Sahib to form a Coalition Government with the Muslim League and ended by making a categorical demand: "Coalition Cabinet or general elections." The Ministry refused to choose either alternative, and this was the beginning of an open war between Sir Olaf Caroe and Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry.

To resolve this impasse and carry out the plan of making the Frontier Province accede to Pakistan the device of holding a referendum was adopted. Ordinarily, the Provincial Assembly should have been asked to decide this issue. Mr. Jinnah and the British Government, however, took the view that the Assembly did not represent the people of the Frontier Province and, therefore, a referendum was necessary. The Pathan leaders wanted the issue of Pathanistan to go before the electorate so that the Pathans could decide whether (*a*) to accede to Hindustan, (*b*) to accede to Pakistan or (*c*) to remain independent of either Dominion. The Viceroy, however, refused to offer the alternative of Pathanistan and in the

* "The Pathan votes against Pakistan." Congress Central Election Board Pamphlet No. 11.

referendum the only issues were India or Pakistan. The Red Shirts and the Congress Party boycotted the referendum and the result was overwhelmingly in favour of Pakistan. It is to be observed, however, that the number of voters who went to the polls was less than fifty-one per cent of the total electorate.* The usual Muslim League methods were adopted during this referendum. The Pir of Manki Sharif or Manki Mullah, as he was called, assisted by a number of fanatical Maulvis, conducted a most virulent propaganda among the electors. Accession to India was interpreted as being synonymous with subordination to Hindu Raj, unislamic conduct and heresy. It is to be remembered that this referendum was held in an atmosphere of heat and poison brought about by months of communal bitterness and rioting. The susceptibilities of the ignorant and emotional Pathan were played upon and he was told that he had to choose between the Quran and the Gita. Men in *burqa*, posing as women, went to the polling booths over and over again and helped to swell the number of actual votes cast. The result was thus a foregone conclusion.

With the creation of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah had obtained from Lord Mountbatten special powers as Governor-General of Pakistan to dismiss Provincial Ministries.† Within a week of assuming office he had recourse to these powers and Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry was dismissed on August 22, 1947. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan then formed a purely Muslim League Ministry although he was still in a minority.‡

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The rioting, killing and other anti-Hindu activities in the North-West Frontier passed through three successive phases; (1) from the beginning of 1946 till about the third week of February

* The total electorate of the North-West Frontier Province consisted of 572,798 and of these only 289,244 voted for Pakistan.

† The Pakistan (Provincial Constitution) Order, 1947, (Notification No. G.G.O. 22, published in the *Gazette of India Extraordinary* dated the 14th August, 1947) amended sub-section (5) of section 51 of the Government of India Act, 1935, to read "(5) In the exercise of his functions under this section with respect to choosing and summoning and the dismissal of ministers, the Governor shall be under the general control of, and comply with such particular directions, if any, as may from time to time be given to him by the Governor-General."

‡ Dr. Khan Sahib gave the following account of this unsavoury episode:

"Before August 15, 1947, Mr. Jinnah tried to persuade Lord Mountbatten to make the Frontier Ministry resign, and several times the then Governor of the North-West Frontier Province, Sir Olaf Caroe, personally asked me to either tender resignation or take one Muslim League member in the Cabinet which I, of course, refused, as I was constitutionally installed as the Premier of the majority party in the Legislature. This attempt having failed, Mr. Jinnah tried again to prevail on Lord Mountbatten to dismiss the Ministry. This time the matter was referred to the then Secretary of State for India who refused to take such steps on the ground that it would be unconstitutional to interfere with the majority Ministry. After August 15, the newly appointed Governor, Sir George Cunningham, at once called upon me to resign which I flatly refused as on past occasions. As a sequel to this finally the unconstitutional step was taken by the Governor-General of Pakistan and my Ministry was straightaway dismissed." *Hindustan Times*, June 24, 1948.

1947; (2) from February 20, 1947, till August 22, 1947; and (3) from August 22, 1947, till the beginning of 1948.

The defeat of the Muslim League in the general elections of February 1946 had given rise to a feeling of frustration, and the chagrin of the League leaders was intensified when the Congress formed an Interim Government at the Centre on September 2, 1946. The Muslim Leaguers started a vigorous propaganda against the Sikhs, the Khudai Khidmatgars and the Congress. They proclaimed that "Hindu Nehru" was responsible for the bombing of the Waziri Tribes and that the Khudai Khidmatgars owed their victory to the support of the infidel Hindu. When Pandit Nehru announced his intention of visiting the Frontier, the League Party conducted an intensive campaign throughout the province. Sir Olaf Caroe had advised Pandit Nehru not to visit the Frontier but his advice was not accepted. Subsequent events showed that Sir Olaf did not disapprove of the League activities against him. Pandit Nehru was described as the murderer of the Muslims in Calcutta; and, when he arrived at the Peshawar aerodrome, he was confronted by a violent and hostile demonstration led by no less a person than Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, the erstwhile Deputy Leader of the Congress Party at the Centre.* On the eve of his visit to the Khyber Agency, the Pir of Manki Sharif made a speech at Jamrud in which he incited the Afridis not to let the murderer of Muslims return alive. Pandit Nehru was met with hostile demonstrations organized by the Muslim League wherever he went and it was the influence of the Khan brothers and their vigilance that prevented the mischievous elements from doing any harm to his person. The tribal areas were, as has been pointed out above, under the direct control of the Provincial Governor and he was responsible for controlling or inspiring these disturbances.

Soon after Pandit Nehru's visit, the news of the unfortunate happenings in Bihar arrived, and this gave further opportunity to the Muslim Leaguers to intensify their campaign against the Khudai Khidmatgars and the non-Muslims. Batches of Muslim Leaguers from all over the province and the tribal area were sent to Bihar to see things for themselves. What had happened in Bihar was gruesome enough, but these Muslim Leaguers, on their return, gave accounts which were grossly exaggerated and distorted. They took out processions shouting "*Bihar ka badla Sarhad men leynge*" ("We will avenge Bihar in the Frontier") and "*Khoon*

* The present Premier of the North-West Frontier Province.

ka badla khoon" ("Blood will be avenged by blood"). Some processionists marched through Hazara, exhibiting a number of skulls which they said were the remains of Muslims murdered in Bihar. They showed photographs of atrocities committed in Bihar, blood-stained clothes of children and torn and mutilated leaves of the Quran. It has been said that the skulls exhibited by the processionists were dug out of local graveyards. The exhibition, however, had the desired effect of arousing the bitterest type of communal feelings. A *khooni mushaira* (blood recital) was held in a hall, the entrance of which was decorated with human skulls and bones. A portrait of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan at one of Gandhiji's meetings was exhibited and it was pointed out that a Muslim was worshipping a Hindu Bania. It was said that he had committed a sin against God in allowing his son, Ghani, to marry a Parsi woman who was a fire-worshipper. Dr. Khan Sahib was maligned in a similar manner and the people were reminded that his daughter, Mariam, had married an Indian Christian. Bricks, said to belong to a mosque in Bihar which had been desecrated and demolished by Hindu rioters, were carried about and shown around. These demonstrations could not but result in arousing the wrath of the excitable Pathans beyond control.

Rioting began in a number of villages of the Hazara District in the beginning of December 1946. Oghi, Shamdhara, Batal, Balakot, Patan Kalan, Rangaryal, Manakrai, Bairkund and some other villages were attacked by the Muslim mobs. The Hindu population of these villages was small and quite unable to defend itself. The Hindu and Sikh shops were looted and set fire to. In some villages a few non-Muslims were murdered. There were instances of desecration of Gurdwaras and temples, but the energies of the Muslim mobs were concentrated chiefly on looting and burning. The disturbances spread to the hilly tracts of the district round about Nathia Galli and continued through the month of January 1947. Rajoia, a village ten miles from Abottabad, was attacked on January 1, and about eighty shops and houses, belonging to non-Muslims, were looted and burnt. Havelian was attacked on January 2, and the temples and Gurdwaras were plundered. Mori, Manshera, Nambal, Patan Khurd and Mulia were also attacked, in a similar manner, during the month of January 1947. A Sikh woman whose husband was murdered by the rioters was abducted in the end of December, and forcibly married to a Muslim. The matter was reported to the authorities and a Muslim

Magistrate was appointed to examine the woman. As the result of the statement made by her, Dr. Khan Sahib directed that the woman should be returned to her relations. This naturally caused resentment among the kidnappers and agitation was started against Dr. Khan Sahib. At about this time a number of by-elections in Hazara District had resulted in the victory of the Muslim League candidates, and, to celebrate this victory, a procession was taken out in the town of Mardan. The processionists went to the residence of the Deputy Commissioner and demanded the return of the Sikh girl who had been restored to her relations. The Deputy Commissioner promulgated an order prohibiting processions and public speeches under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan defied this order and addressed the Muslim League procession. He was arrested on February 20, 1947, and this circumstance was utilized by the Leaguers in inciting further opposition to Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry. A large mob attacked the residence of Dr. Khan Sahib in Peshawar and threw stones at it. Dr. Khan Sahib himself escaped but his son-in-law was injured.

The districts of Hazara and Dera Ismail Khan constitute the non-Pushto-speaking areas, and, in these two districts, the Punjabi influence predominates, whereas, in the remaining districts of the province which constitute the Pushto-speaking area the Congress had a strong hold over the Pathans. The Muslim League was, therefore, strongest in the districts of Hazara and Dera Ismail Khan, and the rioting in these two districts was much more violent than in the other districts. Hitherto trouble had been confined mainly to the district of Hazara although there had been stray incidents in Kohat, in which district the village Toghbala was attacked by a Muslim mob in the month of January. The civil disobedience movement, started by the Muslim League towards the end of February 1947, began to poison the atmosphere in the entire province and disturbances were witnessed in almost all the districts. A number of stabbing and shooting incidents took place in the city and cantonments of Peshawar, in the beginning of March. In the neighbouring villages, the Muslim Leaguers had begun to convert Hindus to Islam, and many of them had to be evacuated under military escort. The news of these happenings brought about a state of panic among the non-Muslim residents of Peshawar. For ten days they remained confined to their houses and did not dare to venture out in the streets. The Provincial Assembly was at the time holding its

A street in Dera Ismail Khan

Budget Session. The Ministry felt that if they took any drastic action the Governor might take the extreme step of dissolving the Assembly. They, therefore, kept their counsel until the budget was passed. Then they held a secret meeting and decided to call in the assistance of the Red Shirts. Whips were sent out in the evening and by the next morning ten thousand Red Shirts had arrived in Peshawar. They were posted throughout the city and their presence brought confidence to the people and normal conditions were restored.

In April 1947, Dera Ismail Khan was in flames. On the 14th and 15th attacks were made on the villages surrounding the town of Dera Ismail Khan and, on the 15th, a large mob invaded the city and began to loot and set fire to the non-Muslim shops and houses. The entire non-Muslim population withdrew and entrenched themselves in a distant quarter of the city from where they watched the destruction of their property in helpless despair. The assault continued for three whole days and it is estimated that about twelve hundred shops owned by non-Muslims were destroyed. This devastating attack reduced the city to a smouldering ruin at the end of three days. Attacks on other villages in the district followed and in some cases the entire non-Muslim population was killed or forcibly converted. Kulachi, a Tehsil headquarter town where about two thousand non-Muslims resided, was attacked by a mob of several thousands on April 22. The Frontier Constabulary present in the town did nothing to help or protect the non-Muslims and allowed the mob to loot and burn their houses. On May 2, Kulachi was again attacked by a Muslim mob led by a member of the Frontier Legislative Assembly and a Sub-Inspector of Police. During this month a number of villages in Kohat District was attacked by Muslim mobs. The casualties in these villages were not large because the number of non-Muslims was extremely small. These unfortunate people found themselves entirely at the mercy of the attackers and, when asked to embrace Islam, saw no other alternative but to submit. The non-Muslim residents of Kalagoth, on hearing of the trouble at Dera Ismail Khan, left their village in a body on April 16, 1947. They were, however, waylaid and attacked. They ran back to their village, pursued by the Muslims who burnt their houses and plundered the village Gurdwara. Village Paroa was attacked on April 15 and the attack continued through the night. The non-Muslim residents of the village tried to defend themselves as best they could. The attack was repeated the next night when the

Muslim mobs succeeded in breaking open a number of houses. On April 22, the police brought lorries in order to evacuate the non-Muslims. The lorries were attacked by a mob of Pathans who killed twelve Hindus and injured fifteen. In village Malana about sixty non-Muslim families lived. The village was attacked on April 15. Sixty houses and shops were looted and burnt and fifty-two persons were killed by a Muslim mob. It will be tiresome to repeat instances but there is overwhelming evidence to prove that almost every village in the district, containing non-Muslims, was attacked and looted in this way.

For some weeks there was comparative peace although stray attacks in towns and villages continued. For instance, village Lachi in district Kohat was attacked in the month of May. Village Teli in Waziristan was attacked in June, and in the same month a number of Hindus who left village Thal by train were attacked by a Muslim mob. Forty persons were killed and five women were abducted. Village Ambar Kalan in district Hazara was attacked in the end of July. But the efforts of Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry were, to some extent, responsible for stemming the tide of lawlessness.

On August 15, 1947, Pakistan was established, and Mr. Jinnah found himself possessed with powers to dismiss a recalcitrant Congress Ministry. As soon as Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan was installed in office, he began a virulent propaganda against the non-Muslims. Exaggerated accounts of the events in East Punjab and the atrocities to which the Muslims had been subjected, were spread throughout the province in order to arouse the passions of the Pathans. A deputation of the Muslim Leaguers was sent to East Punjab and the accounts which they gave on their return aggravated the situation. In the last week of August rioting on a very large scale broke out in the town of Haripur. Almost the entire Hindu property in the town was destroyed. The Hindu population, numbering several thousands, was taken to a refugee camp but the camp was attacked by Muslims and three hundred refugees were killed. The temples and Gurdwaras in Haripur were sacked and burnt. On August 27, village Lalogali in district Hazara was attacked and the Hindus were forcibly converted to Islam. Trouble spread to other districts and to Waziristan. The influence of the Khudai Khidmatgars in Bannu and in Mardan and Charsadda Tehsils was strong and there the disturbances did not assume large proportions. In the beginning of September arson, looting and killing

started in Peshawar City. The attack this time was more determined and the Red Shirts could not come to the rescue. The assault began with the usual stories, spread by the Muslim Leaguers, that a mob of Sikhs had collected to attack the Muslims. In order to ward off this attack the Muslims were asked to arm and collect themselves in large numbers. The mob then proceeded against the imaginay Sikh assailants and attacked the suburbs of Peshawar. They invaded the city and went about looting, burning and killing. Some of the rioters were seen going about in jeeps and cars. Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, the Premier, had to go to Rawalpindi to meet the West Punjab Premier and rioting began soon after he left Peshawar on September 7. The following is an account given by an official of the Government of India posted at Peshawar at the time:

"Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan could hardly have left Peshawar when Leaguers went about in a car in Peshawar City proclaiming that a Sikh regiment was going to attack Muslims. Similar emissaries went about in different parts of Peshawar Cantonment and adjoining villages on cycles, asking people to come out with guns and pistols to repel the Sikh attack. It was a Sunday and the shops were closed. Panic-stricken Hindus and Sikhs ran to their houses and shut themselves up in their *mohallas* and blocks. The myth of a Sikh attack has invariably been the signal for the butchery of minorities in the Frontier. On many occasions this false alarm has been successfully used, and the minorities in Peshawar at once sensed that the fateful hour had arrived.

"In the Cantonment, police guards at Salwan Refugee Camp and some other prominent shops and houses at once fled to the police station at this false alarm signal. To appeals from Hindus and Sikhs for posting of police and military and enforcement of curfew, the only answer given by the authorities was that Sikh and Muslim troops were fighting among themselves and all the force available was occupied there. This was again a myth which has been exploded by the military spokesman in New Delhi.

"Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan has been loud in proclaiming to the outside world that enemies of Pakistan, i.e., Khudai Khidmatgars and Zalm-i-Pukhtoon, were responsible for the circulation of this false rumour. But his own clerk who answered the telephone call on the 7th, in his absence, repeated the story of Sikh and Muslim troops having clashed. The Deputy Commissioner and the Inspector-General of Police could not be contacted on the

telephone. They were all out. But their clerks and orderlies who answered the telephone further harped on the same theme.

" Asked whether Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan had been informed about the situation that was developing, his Personal Assistant replied that it was for the C.I.D. to do so.

" Thus the field was left open for the *goondas* to start murder and arson. Curfew was not even formally imposed till 5-30 p.m. The forces of law and order were either away from the scene or acted as full-fledged partisans. Little boys, servants and *malis* of Government officers, sweepers and riff-raff in the cantonments, absolutely unarmed, were seen breaking open the locks of shops and helping themselves to the goods while constables stood gossiping here and there. Occasionally they claimed their share of the loot when they saw something attractive.

" As the news of this universal loot spread to the adjoining villages, League Khans got into their cars with armed servants and carried back cart-loads of looted property. Within a couple of hours, threatening armed gangs from the neighbouring villages entered the City and Cantonments. They were guided by police or some local Leaguers to Hindu and Sikh shops. They broke open the locks by firing shots and escaped with lorry-loads of goods.

" More gruesome tragedies happened in the Civil Quarters and Railway Quarters where Hindu and Sikh Government servants along with their women and children were done to death. . . .

" For nearly twelve hours the non-Muslims fought the ruffians heroically while flames enveloped them and bullets were being showered on them. Some brave women committed suicide. The Civil Quarters are a stone's-throw from the Lines of the Frontier Constabulary. We cannot believe that the authorities were unaware of these happenings. Curfew was imposed at 5-30 p.m. The Deputy Commissioner himself told one of us on the telephone at about 6 p.m. that unfortunately there had been considerable loss of life in the Cantonments. The mob at the Civil Quarters was not very big. It is difficult to understand why no effort was made by him to rescue the non-Muslims till one of them managed to escape and knocked for help at his bungalow at about 10 p.m.

" In spite of the curfew, till Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan arrived at 5 p.m. on Monday the 8th, loot, arson and murder went on unchecked. Fire consumed a part of the city. Shots rang on all sides. League-minded Muslim shopkeepers dumped the looted

property in their shops and houses to be cleared at night by lorries, trucks, tongas and carts.

" While the Delhi Cloth Mills shop in Peshawar Cantonments was being looted at 1 p.m. on Monday the 8th, during curfew hours, both the West Police Station and the Deputy Commissioner were informed on the telephone of this happening. Military arrived on the spot and saw that bales were being removed. But after some 'chitchat' with the ringleaders they went away. So did the police.

" The Private Secretary to the Governor was informed of the situation on the telephone on the 7th, i.e., Sunday evening. His reply was 'What can H.E. do? Ask the police.' The Chief Secretary gave the same reply on the 10th morning.

" It is difficult to assess the total number of deaths and the loss of property. Dead bodies were being removed from isolated houses in Cantonments for many days after these happenings. Conditions for several weeks did not permit free movement on the part of any member of the minorities. Two Hindus were shot dead in the city when they went from the refugee camp to their shops to collect their goods, a few days after the loot."

With the arrival of the Premier in Peshawar on the 8th evening, the situation was to some extent controlled, but this only diverted the attack from Peshawar to Nowshera where trouble broke out the same day. Nowshera Cantonment was attacked by a large riotous mob. In Nowshera the non-Muslims are in a majority but they found themselves helpless when assaulted suddenly by a furious armed mob. A number of bungalows and houses were set on fire. When the residents tried to escape they were shot dead. In one house a number of persons were burnt alive. The attack continued throughout the Cantonment until the afternoon of the 9th when the Jat military arrived and controlled the situation. It is estimated that about two thousand persons lost their lives and about four hundred women were abducted. Of these nearly half were restored subsequently.

The town of Abbottabad was subjected to a fierce attack on the night between the 6th and 7th December 1947. Mahasha Shiv Ram, a member of the Provincial Legislative Assembly who was in the military camp, was murdered.

We shall conclude this chapter by giving a brief account of the gruesome tragedy enacted at Parachinar towards the end of January 1948. Parachinar is a Kurram Agency Headquarters

situated amongst the hills at a height of nearly six thousand feet. The Grand Trunk Road connects it with Thal and Kohat and there was a regular lorry service between Kohat and Parachinar. The railway station for Parachinar is Thal. The population of Parachinar was about eleven thousand persons of whom nearly two thousand were non-Muslims. Business and trade were almost entirely in the hands of Hindus and Sikhs who also owned a large area of agricultural land in the Kurram Agency. For some months, before the fighting in Kashmir began, arms were freely distributed among the Muslims who were asked to volunteer and join the raiders. On October 20, 1947, a Muslim dead body was brought from Kashmir to a village, five miles from Parachinar, and given a public burial. This infuriated the Muslims and they attacked the Hindus and Sikhs living in the village. The incident was regarded as a danger-signal by the non-Muslim residents of the neighbouring villages and they began to leave. The Assistant Political Agent; however, asked them to stay on, and gave them assurances of safety. On October 26, 1947, a Muslim mob, supported by the militia, made an attack on the Hindu quarter of Parachinar. They burnt some houses and desecrated the Gurdwara. Conditions deteriorated, and on November 4, 1947, the non-Muslims were asked to proceed to a camp near the Fort of Parachinar. They were allowed to take only twenty-two *seers* of personal luggage and some food. The camp was set up outside the walls of Parachinar Fort at a distance of about three miles from the town. The arms and ammunition of the non-Muslims who went to the camp were seized and taken away.

There were about fifteen hundred non-Muslims in this camp but the arrangements for their food and drink were far from satisfactory. They had to purchase their rations privately at exorbitant prices. The militia who were posted for their safety had to be bribed, and the officials demanded heavy bribes for escorting them to a place of safety. They agreed to evacuate them on promise of being paid Rs. 65,000. By the middle of November some more non-Muslims had arrived in the camp from the neighbouring villages and the total number rose to about two thousand. On December 5, 1947, Sir George Cunningham, the Provincial Governor, paid a visit to the camp. The refugees laid their difficulties before him and asked for immediate evacuation from the camp. The Governor, however, told them that he could make no arrangements for their transport, and returned to Peshawar. On

December 8, 1947, the Assistant Political Agent asked the refugees to go back to their houses and even had some of the tents pulled down in order to force them to leave the camp. It was bitterly cold at the time and some women and children died of exposure. The refugees, however, did not leave the camp as life in the villages was fraught with the gravest danger. A few days later the refugees were told that they would be forcibly ejected. This state of affairs continued until January 20, 1948, when the refugees heard that a Muslim mob was getting ready to attack the camp. On the following day, telegrams were sent to the Political Agent and other persons for help. On January 22, at about 11 a.m., some officers arrived and asked the refugees to get ready for removal to Arawali Camp. The refugees packed up their things and waited till 4 p.m. At that hour three lorries arrived to transport two thousand refugees. No one was prepared to leave the camp in these circumstances, but the militia beat the refugees and arrested four of them on the ground that they were spreading disaffection and dissuading the others from leaving the camp. That evening the camp was attacked by a large Muslim mob armed with guns, spears, hatchets, etc. The attack continued till 8-30 p.m. and the militia, numbering about five or six hundred, joined the attackers. One hundred and thirty-eight Hindus and Sikhs were killed, one hundred and fifty more were injured and two hundred and twenty-three women were carried away. The mob looted the entire property of the non-Muslims and some of them were seen searching the dead bodies.

When the news of this horrible massacre arrived in Delhi it was feared that communal rioting might once again disturb the peace of the metropolis, but extensive police precautions and the counsel of the saner elements were successful in preserving an atmosphere of calm and tranquillity.

VII

Tous les hommes se ressemblent si fort qu'il n'y a point de peuple dont les sottises ne nous doivent faire trembler.

FONTENELLE

Cet animal est très méchant
Quand on l'attaque il se défend.

THEODORE

CHAPTER SEVEN

RETALIATION

THE events described in the preceding chapters could not but fail to arouse horror and indignation all over India, and more particularly in the eastern districts of the Punjab, where the arrival of large numbers of non-Muslims from West Punjab furnished concrete proof of the manner in which the plans and designs of the Muslim League were being executed. The burning and killing which took place in the towns of Lahore, Multan and Rawalpindi and in the rural areas of the districts of Rawalpindi, Multan and Jhelum, in the beginning of March, compelled thousands of Hindu and Sikh residents to leave their homes and seek temporary or permanent shelter in the comparative security of the Muslim minority districts. They related the tales of their sufferings and, as their anger mounted, they spoke of revenge and retaliation. During the months that followed, the pressure was kept up by the recrudescence of trouble in Lahore and by the constant influx of refugees from all parts of West Punjab. Hopes of a peaceful settlement and a satisfactory *rapprochement* receded with every fresh outbreak of communal frenzy. Resentment grew with the arrival of every batch of bereaved and impoverished persons. These people, bruised in their minds and bodies, deprived of their property and their means of livelihood, did not hesitate to exaggerate the severity of the blows inflicted upon them or the extent of their suffering. They had been unable to hit back at their assailants who heavily outnumbered them; but the desire for revenge remained and, towards the end of July, began to assume the proportions of a categorical imperative. Stories began to be heard of small groups of Sikhs roaming the countryside in Amritsar District, and attacking a lonely Muslim or setting fire to a Muslim house. Serious trouble broke out in the town of Amritsar, in the beginning of August, and there was considerable loss of Muslim life and property. Lahore was once again ablaze, and the news of the happenings in that town had serious repercussions in several towns of East Punjab. The intensity of the rioting in Amritsar achieved a new record and began to spread to other districts. The division of the Punjab was given effect to on the midnight between the 14th and 15th of August 1947, although the Award of the

Boundary Commission was not announced till two days later. The terms of the Award caused a great deal of disappointment and frustration. The Sikhs made no secret of the resentment they felt at losing their historic shrines and almost the entire rich colony area. They felt that the division of their community into two halves would result in the lowering of their political status in both parts of the Punjab. The Muslims had also lost some areas in which they had had a majority of population. The loss of Lahore and the consequent deprivation of a large number of cultural and educational institutions, of their property and wealth was keenly felt by the Hindus. At the same time, partition brought a certain measure of relief, for the non-Muslims in East Punjab felt that they had gained independence, though at a terrible cost. The feeling grew that Hindus and Sikhs could now retaliate with impunity and avenge some, at least, of the wrongs suffered at the hands of the Muslims in West Punjab.

The new regime in East Punjab started functioning in circumstances which were extremely abnormal. Not only did the new Government inherit a legacy of serious lawlessness and disorder from their predecessors ; but, for want of a suitable place to locate their headquarters, they had to split up their administrative machinery into several parts in order to find accommodation for the various offices and staff. The machinery for law and order, which had worked under a great strain for several months, was thrown completely out of gear by large-scale desertions of Muslim policemen, who predominated in the Force.* The lack of experienced and well-disciplined officers and hurried transfers and postings, even of senior officers, deprived them of the benefit of local knowledge and, to that extent, impaired their ability to deal with the difficult problems that faced them. Certain sections of people, who had been kept down by ruthless force by the previous administration, took advantage of this situation and started trouble both in towns and villages. The cumulative effect of it all was that the administration virtually broke down for about a week and there was considerable chaos and lawlessness in a large part of the province.

* 74.1 per cent of the regular Police Force in the united Punjab was Muslim and 78.2 per cent of the Additional Police was Muslim. In the Ambala Range, out of a total of 3,695 constables 1,861 were Muslims. In the Jullundur Range, out of a total of 3,368 police constables 2,119 were Muslims. In the Lahore Range, there were 5,403 Muslim constables out of a total of 7,205. The Government of East Punjab thus found themselves depleted of more than half of the available Police Force.

The Government and the leaders of all communities earned a great deal of criticism and odium at the hands of the public, during the first fortnight of the new regime. This was especially so among the Sikhs because their leaders had encouraged fond hopes of getting them their Gurdwaras and a part of the colony lands. An impression gained ground that Sikh leadership had proved unequal to the occasion, and the leaders had committed blunders which had resulted in the community being nearly ruined. The Congress leaders were accused of having brought this calamity on the non-Muslims of the Punjab by following a policy of appeasement towards Muslims and it was freely said that the intransigence of Mr. Jinnah had not been dealt with firmly. The Government were charged with inefficiency and tardiness in dealing with the border incidents, the evacuation and rehabilitation of refugees. East Punjab had no Press or other means of publicity to counteract this propaganda and this uninformed criticism held the field for a considerable time.

Following upon the disturbances in Amritsar, rioting, arson and murder broke out in the districts of Gurdaspur, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana and Ferozepore. The trouble soon spread to the rural areas and there were reports of attacks and counter-attacks, on a large scale, in almost all districts of the Jullundur Division. It is impossible to make a correct estimate of the total number of persons killed but, it is feared, that several thousand persons lost their lives. Muslim losses in these riots were naturally much heavier than non-Muslim losses, but the loss of Hindu property was considerable. The news from West Punjab, where massacre and looting of non-Muslims on a large scale were taking place, continued to agitate the public mind. The atrocity stories led to flare-ups in several places and the authorities had the greatest difficulty in bringing the situation under control. As the refugees progressed eastward, communal trouble followed in their wake. By the end of August the atmosphere throughout East Punjab had become very tense, and it was realized that more trouble was in store.

The scale and extent of these riots had not been correctly foreseen and the arrangements made to deal with them proved inadequate. The Punjab Boundary Force, which had been specially set up to deal with disputes in connection with the demarcation of the boundary, did useful work to start with, but the

troops did not take long to become infected with communalism, and complaints of wanton and unprovoked excesses began coming in from several quarters. In answer to an insistent demand by the public, a decision to disband the Boundary Force was taken towards the end of August. Economic factors added to the troubles of Government and to the discontent in East Punjab. The food arrangements in rationed towns were thrown out of gear by the arrival of a very large number of refugees and, at some places, the position was precarious, indeed even dangerous. Complaints of shortages began to pour in from a number of districts and, with the complete dislocation of transport, food stocks could not be moved easily from the surplus to the deficit areas. This state of affairs led in various places to the looting of Muslim property.

During the month of September, communal incidents continued to occur in all parts of the province of East Punjab and rendered resumption of normal life difficult, except perhaps in some towns where the exist of the Muslim population and its replacement by Hindu and Sikh refugees gave some semblance of restoration of normal conditions. Border incidents were continuously reported in Ferozepore and Amritsar Districts. There were several instances of Muslim League National Guards and the West Punjab Police trespassing into East Punjab territory and taking away cattle and other property. Military vehicles were also alleged to have entered some districts with stocks of illicit arms for distribution among Muslims. The main theatres of trouble during the first fortnight of September were the three districts of the Hariana Tract—Karnal, Rohtak and Hissar. Trouble on a lesser scale also occurred in some districts of the Jullundur Division. Even Simla and Kangra Districts were affected and there were reports of sporadic cases of murder, arson and looting. The vernacular Press added fuel to the fire of frenzy by giving highly coloured and unilateral accounts of the unfortunate happenings on both sides of the border. We must also confess that there was a regrettable lack of honesty of purpose on the part of the police and certain other agencies in charge of the maintenance of law and order. This was found especially marked in the Railway Police in Ambala and a number of their men had to be arrested. A large number of arrests of policemen had to be made on charges of looting and murder in other districts also. This apathy of the police, combined with their inadequacy, made matters very difficult indeed. People who had suffered at the hands of the

Muslims in West Punjab, and they included non-Muslim policemen, found it difficult to resist or prevent the temptation of loot or to connive at damage to Muslim life and property.

Towards the end of August, a camp for about six thousand Muslims was set up in Hansi, district Hissar. A sweeping attack on this camp was made by Jats, Rajputs, Sikhs and Banias. The attack lasted for several days and resulted in very heavy loss of Muslim life.

Relations between the Muslims and the non-Muslims in the Ambala District had been strained for many years, particularly over the vexed question of cow-slaughter during *Id*. In previous years firing had been resorted to, in order to control the situation. Feeling in the Rupar Sub-Division had been particularly bitter owing to the grant of a new licence for cow-slaughter, three years before the partition took place, in a Muslim village, surrounded on all sides by Sikh villages, of which many were in the territory of the Patiala State. Every year military aid was called in to maintain peace in this village. Ambala occupied a central position for the evacuation of Muslim and non-Muslim refugees by rail, road and air. Non-Muslim refugees arrived in hundreds of thousands by trains and in thousands by planes for dispersal to the different districts of East Punjab. The proximity of five States (Patiala, Bilaspur, Nalagarh, Sirmur and Kalsia) was another handicap for the Ambala authorities in maintaining order. These States provided convenient spring-boards for marauders who launched their offensive and then quickly retreated before they could be apprehended or dealt with. A camp for about sixty thousand Muslims was set up at Kurali (Rupar Sub-Division). Severe rioting broke out in several parts of Ambala District and the loss of Muslim life was heavy, particularly in the Rupar Sub-Division where it is estimated that between ten and twelve thousand Muslims lost their lives. Some other parts of the district were also affected and the Muslim evacuee camp at Kalka was attacked by an armed mob who opened fire and threw some hand-grenades, killing ten and injuring fifty. The assailants were driven off by the military guard. But Ambala City and Cantonments remained almost free from trouble. There was a large camp of nearly 180,000 Muslims near Ambala City and between thirty and forty thousand Muslims were living in their homes in the city of Ambala. The total loss of Muslim life in Ambala City and Cantonments was less than one hundred, though there was a certain amount of looting of Muslim property even after the Muslims had been evacuated.

Belongings of Muslims had been collected in dumps at convenient centres for safe custody, and much of this property was stolen and looted. It must be recorded that the Muslim refugees spoke very highly of the police arrangements made for their safety at the District Headquarters.

Trouble started in Simla on September 9. Owing to bitter communal tension in the police ranks, the Muslim police constables had to be disarmed. No military assistance was available and arson and looting on a considerable scale broke out. There were also several cases of stabbing. The exploding of two hand-grenades, in the Muslim refugee camp, resulted in the death of thirteen Muslims and the wounding of fifteen others. It was reported that bands of Sikh marauders from Patiala were mainly responsible for the trouble in Simla. The Bishop of Lahore who was at the time staying in Simla, wrote: "Two days ago I buried an old friend of mine who died of cancer. We had the greatest difficulty in getting her body to the cemetery as our bier-bearers were all Muslims. We got police escort in the end. On the way we came across one Muslim hacked to death: on the way back two or three more—coolies carrying loads who had no chance of defending themselves."

There were several attacks on trains between Jullundur and Ludhiana and between Ludhiana and Rajpura. Sikh *jathas* from Patiala were said to be responsible for these attacks. The authorities, at this time, were dismayed to see that there was "very little evidence of willingness on the part of the Sikhs to cry a halt." It will be remembered that, by this time, the Sikhs had become special targets of Muslim fury in West Punjab. A Sikh was not safe anywhere and was killed at sight.

Serious trouble broke out at Hoshiarpur towards the end of August. The situation at Ludhiana showed no sign of improving.

Delhi had been used as a base by the Muslim League and the police had received reports of underground activities on the part of the League National Guards. An abortive attempt to create disorder, in November 1946, failed but Muslim preparations continued, and there is abundant evidence to show that arms were being secretly collected by the Muslims. Riots broke out in Delhi in the beginning of September, and for a fortnight, beginning September 6, large-scale looting of property and stabbing in almost

all localities of the capital took place. In these riots Muslims were found to be heavily armed. They used automatic weapons, country-made cannons, rifles, bombs, mortars and other missiles. It was reported that Muslim ammunition dealers had restricted the sale of ammunition to members of their own community and this sale was on a fairly liberal scale. One Haji Obedullah played a prominent part in the riots in the area of Subzimandi and he was responsible for importing large quantities of weapons into Delhi. The shops of Muslim blacksmiths and motor mechanics were converted into small arsenals where spears, mortars and crude muzzle-loading guns were manufactured. After the riots, it was discovered that many Muslim localities had been provided with a wireless transmitter and receiving set ; and these instruments were used for exchanging messages between the various areas. As many as thirteen wireless transmitters were recovered by the police. A burnt Signal Corps Radio Transmitter was recovered from the remains of the *Dawn* Press which had been set on fire. In Subzimandi area a tunnel was discovered in which a large quantity of arms and ammunition had been stored. Loss of Muslim life in the Delhi riots was considerable and, although the exact numbers cannot be determined, the police received reports of five hundred and seven Muslims killed and two hundred and ninety-seven injured. It is almost certain that an equal number of killed and wounded was not reported to the police and the total casualties may, therefore, be placed at more than one thousand killed and an equal number injured. As against this seventy-six Hindus were reported to have been killed and ninety-seven injured. These figures, however, do not correctly indicate the provocation given by the Muslims. The first incident occurred on August 21, 1947, when an explosion took place in Shahadara, in a house belonging to a Muslim student. It was believed that the student was trying to prepare a bomb which exploded accidentally. On August 25, four Muslim workers of the Birla Mills were killed during a scuffle between the Hindu and Muslim workers. On the night of September 3, a bomb exploded in a Hindu locality in Qarol Bagh. A rumour spread through the locality that the bomb had been thrown by a Muslim. Whether this rumour was correct or false, it led to a sudden flare-up of communal frenzy and rioting began in the Qarol Bagh area. A mob of rowdy Muslims was seen parading the streets and Dr. Joshi, a resident of Qarol Bagh, went out to reason with them. He was shot dead by Dr. Qureshi who was in the mob. This

incident had serious repercussions in other parts of Delhi.* Rioting spread soon afterwards to Subzimandi, Turkman Gate, Paharganj, Phatak Habash Khan and other parts of the city.

The Delhi Police Force was sixty per cent Muslim and the Civil Authorities found it difficult to control the situation. There was constant firing by the Muslims in Paharganj, Subzimandi and Turkman Gate. The Khaksars confined in the District Jail attacked and killed a Hindu warder, and the police had to open fire upon them. In the Subzimandi area a veritable battle between the Muslims and the police lasted for a whole day. The official account says: "On September 8, at 7 a.m., a police patrol, headed by a Sub-Inspector on duty in Subzimandi area, heard sounds of firing. They proceeded to the scene of occurrence and saw the Muslims firing on Hindus of the locality. The police party returned the fire but many of them were wounded, including an Assistant Sub-Inspector who had to be sent to hospital. As the police force available was inadequate, military help was sought and a posse of military arrived at the spot with a Magistrate. The Muslims opened fire on the military also and wounded several men. Another Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police was fatally shot by the Muslims. The Subzimandi Police Station was also fired at, and the battle continued till 6 p.m. when the Muslims surrendered and asked to be evacuated to a safe place."

Reports of these occurrences exacerbated the non-Muslim feeling in the capital and large-scale looting and burning of Muslim property was reported from several quarters of the city. There were also attacks on Muslim life and in the course of four days several hundred Muslims were murdered. There was a great deal of disturbance in the rural areas surrounding the capital. Muslim villages were attacked and set on fire and the residents were murdered. In many instances, the Muslims were found to be armed with firearms, but they were heavily outnumbered and quickly overpowered. In some villages trouble was started by the Meo residents. Hindu villages were attacked and burnt down. The Meos were ultimately driven out and many of them were wiped out in the neighbouring State of Alwar.

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* Dr. Qureshi was tried on a charge of murder and convicted, and his conviction was upheld on appeal by the East Punjab High Court. He was subsequently transferred to Pakistan in pursuance of the inter-Dominion agreement for the exchange of prisoners. As soon as he arrived at Lahore he was released unconditionally and feted as a patriot and a hero

The police found several heaps of dead bodies, burning on both sides of the railway track near Badli Railway Station. It transpired that two passenger trains had been attacked by an armed mob and Muslim passengers had been dragged out and murdered. Village Barwala was attacked by a mob of armed non-Muslims. It was reported that about fifty houses were burnt down and three hundred and eighty-nine Muslims were murdered. Police help was sent but the mob defied the police firing and continued the massacre and depredation till a heavy contingent of armed police and military reserve reached the spot. On September 4, a number of Hindu labourers of the Delhi Cloth Mills, on their way home, killed every Muslim they met. On September 7 and 8, the Muslim shops in Connaught Circus were looted and burnt down. The police and military were ordered to shoot at sight, and the Prime Minister of India himself visited the spot at the risk of his life. On September 9, a number of wagons containing goods booked for Pakistan were standing in the station yard of the Delhi Main Railway Station. Four of these were set on fire and four more were looted. Almost the entire Muslim population was forced to leave and seek refuge in a number of refugee camps set up by the Administration. Nearly all of them have now returned to their original homes and are leading a peaceful life. Stray cases of assault continued until the end of September, when the situation was finally brought under control. Besides a number of unlicensed guns, daggers and knives, one hundred and fifty-four bombs, forty-five mortars, one thousand nine hundred and fifty rounds of rifle ammunition, thirteen wireless transmitters, a number of hand-grenades, Sten gun cartridges and a quantity of chemicals were recovered by the police from Muslim houses.

Heavy rains in the province during the second half of September caused widespread distress and loss of life and property. The Sutlej, Beas and Ravi overflowed their banks and wiped out several villages. The Hydro-electric Power Station at Jogindernagar was thrown out of order; and, besides stoppages in industrial and business undertakings, several towns were plunged into darkness for a period of nine days. The floods interfered seriously with the means of communication. The main rail and road bridges on the Grand Trunk Road, seven miles south of Jullundur, were completely washed away. Traffic between Hamira and Beas was held up for ten days as road and rail communications were breached. The communications between Ferozepore and Qasubegu were interrupted.

A road breach, one and a half miles long, was caused between Fazilka and Sulemanki. The Chakki Bridge on the Gurdaspur-Kangra Road was washed away. The road between Jullundur and Hoshiarpur was seriously breached five miles south of Hoshiarpur and the railway line was destroyed. The Indian Army Sappers were rushed to the various affected parts and restored communications within a few days, but in the meantime a great deal of damage both to life and property was caused. The heavy rains on the 24th and 25th added to the immense sufferings of the unfortunate refugees. Several hundred thousands of them had to stay on the roadside during these days without any cover. The road between Beas and Kartarpur was completely inundated and a large number of refugees was washed away. The countryside was strewn with dead bodies which floated down the river in spate. Because of the suddenness and extent of the calamity, many villages and towns were isolated and very little could be achieved in the way of rescue operations.

Two great tragedies were enacted during the last week of September. One was an attack on a Muslim refugee train at Amritsar on the evening of September 22. Mention has been made of the non-Muslim refugee train from Pind Dadan Khan which was attacked at three different places.* When this train arrived at Amritsar, the news of the attack and the heavy loss of non-Muslim life spread through Amritsar and caused bitter resentment. On the evening of September 22, a Muslim refugee train on its way to Lahore was held up and attacked. It is feared that the loss of Muslim life was very heavy. Earlier the same day there had been an attack on a Muslim road convoy, though the number of people killed was less than fifty. The second great tragedy was an attack on a Muslim foot convoy in Ferozepore a few days later. The official report of this incident reads as follows:

"A large column, strength not known but estimated approximately at ten thousand, entered Ferozepore District from Kapurthala State, over the railway bridge near Makhu. The column included approximately three hundred persons who had previously migrated from Ferozepore District to Kapurthala State.

"A Muslim, named Mehdi, persuaded the column to proceed to Lahore via Makhu and the Sutlej Bridge. He promised, in return for some remuneration, to arrange military escort for

* See page 228, *ante*.

the column from Makhu. The movement of the column was kept secret.

" Mehdi had apparently arranged with some agents of his to leave the column and to ferry his own family across the Sutlej soon after entering Ferozepore District; and this he did. The column traversed through Ferozepore District without any escort and, on the way, was set upon by recently settled Sikh refugees from Pakistan. The number of casualties suffered by the column is estimated at between five hundred and one thousand, killed or wounded. In addition, a number of girls were abducted.

" No information regarding the entry of the column into Ferozepore District was received from the State authorities or from any other quarter. The first time that the local Army authorities came to know about the presence of the column was when the head of the column appeared at the Sutlej Bridge near Ferozepore City. The police of Makhu and Malanwala Police Stations, through whose jurisdiction the column passed, failed to report the passage of the column through their areas to the authorities of the headquarters of the district. If a report had been made, the headquarter authorities would have been able to arrange a suitable escort, and in all probability the attack would not have taken place or at least the number of casualties would have been much smaller.

" On receipt of information, the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police made immediate arrangements for the collection and safe passage of the travellers and also for the recovery of abducted women. As a result of their efforts two hundred and fifty refugee stragglers were collected and transported safely to Kasur and over two hundred Muslim girls were recovered and sent to Pakistan.

" Severe action has been taken against the police for failure to report the arrival of the column in Ferozepore District. The Station House Officers of Makhu and Malawala Police Stations have been withdrawn and placed under arrest."

The Muslim villages round the town of Rewari were subjected to heavy attacks and Muslim houses were burnt and looted. Loss of life was not heavy as the inhabitants were evacuated to refugee camps. In one village, however, nearly one thousand Muslims were reported to have been killed. Large numbers of Meos left the district but later returned when conditions became normal.

A number of raiders assisted by the local Sangh people burnt down evacuated Muslim huts in Rewari. The damage, however, was not very great and the raiders were dispersed by the military and six of them were arrested.

In Tehsil Sonepat there were casualties at two places, Ghanaur and Akbarpur Barota. The loss of life was not considerable. The Muslims at Sonepat were attacked by a large mob who were driver off by the military.

In the end of September, Master Tara Singh and Udham Singh Nagoke issued a statement calling upon the Sikhs to stop the murder of Muslims. The appeal, however, was not happily worded and came in for a great deal of criticism from the Pakistan Authorities. While pointing out that the Sikhs and Hindus had been "guilty of most shameful attacks upon women and children in the communal warfare" and asking them to "stop all retaliation" the Sikh leaders said, " We do not desire friendship of the Muslims and we may never befriend them. We may have to fight again but we shall fight a clean fight—man killing man. This killing of women and children and those who seek asylum must cease at once. . . . There should be no attacks on refugee trains, convoys and caravans. We ask you to do so chiefly in the interests of your own communities, reputations, character and tradition than to save the Muslims." An exhortation of this type was scarcely calculated to check the non-Muslim frenzy in East Punjab.

A Hindu Advocate who visited a number of places in the Jullundur Division and the Patiala State, relating his observations, said:

" While the happenings in West Punjab have been indescribably tragic and unimaginably barbarous, the tragic happenings in East Punjab and Patiala State have not been less gruesome or less barbarous. Almost all Muslim men, women and children, whether urban or rural, have been either killed or turned out of their homes. There has been large-scale looting and destruction of property left by them, including standing crops. A large number of Muslim girls has been forcibly married, mostly to Sikhs. In certain villages Muslim population has been either wholly or mainly wiped out. Nature and epidemics are doing what man has failed to do.

" From Ambala to Jullundur roadsides and other areas are stinking with foul and poisonous smell. There is filth and dirt everywhere.

"What has happened in Patiala State is even worse. The Muslim population of the State was about one-third which has been virtually either wiped out or expelled. It is in very few cases that the Muslims started trouble and in good many places they adopted a submissive attitude. I can say, on the strength of my personal testimony, that my own ancestral village, mostly inhabited by Muslim Rajputs, received the worst treatment, though there was no loss of life owing to the peaceful and voluntary withdrawal of more than two thousand Muslims. All the valuable buildings of the Muslim Rajputs were wantonly destroyed and all the building material, including girders, was removed. This destruction and loot of all valuables, including a large quantity of foodgrains, by the neighbouring villages continued for days. All this was done mostly by the Sikh gangs aided by a few Hindus. I went to Rajpura to contact the police and military officers and found two of them, of whom one was a Muslim, under the influence of liquor."

An observer who watched the progress of a column of Muslim refugees from the Kapurthala State, said, "I saw a long column of Muslim men, women and children proceeding from Kapurthala to Jullundur. The column was guarded by a few military sepoys. It was ten or twelve deep, the women and children walking in the centre, flanked on either side by men. Groups of armed Sikhs stood about in the fields on either side of the road. Every now and again one of these groups would make a sudden sally at the column of Muslims, drag out two or three women and run away with them. In the process they would kill or injure the Muslims who tried to resist them. The military sepoys did not make a serious attempt to beat off these attacks. By the time the column arrived at Jullunder almost all the women and young girls had been kidnapped in this manner."

Reports of happenings in Patiala were grossly exaggerated by the Pakistan officials, but there can be no doubt that there was heavy loss of Muslim life among the Patiala Muslims.

Exposure and starvation took a heavy toll of the Muslims proceeding to Pakistan by foot convoys. It was reported that from a convoy of eighty thousand proceeding on its slow march to Amritsar and Lahore fifteen hundred Muslims died of exposure and starvation.

The disturbances in East Punjab resulted in the evacuation of almost the entire Muslim population to Pakistan. The loss of

Muslim life was not less than the loss of non-Muslim life in West Punjab. Indeed, there are many who boast that the total number of Muslims killed was more than the number of Hindus and Sikhs who perished in West Punjab, though the latter suffered greater losses in property. It is impossible to estimate even approximately the number of persons killed. What happened in West Punjab was re-enacted in East Punjab on an equally large scale and with equal ferocity. The same barbarities, inhuman murders, savage outrages, atrocities against women and children were witnessed. It must, however, be remembered that the attacks on the Muslims were by way of retaliation and began only after several months of a determined and sustained effort to drive the non-Muslims out of West Punjab. It was the tales brought by the sufferers from the West which set the East Punjab ablaze and no major incident happened in the eastern districts till the end of July. The mass killing and looting really began after the partition of the country and continued for about six weeks till the end of September. Those who took part in this holocaust were merely repeating the terrible lesson they had learnt from their Muslim preceptors in West Punjab. A great deal has been said by the Pakistan Press about a Sikh plan to drive out the Muslims and take possession of their lands and houses. A careful examination of the evidence, however, shows that no such plan was formulated up to the 15th of August 1947. The Hindu and Sikh leaders continued to appeal to the minorities in West Punjab to stay in their homes. The uncompromising Master Tara Singh told the Associated Press of India on June 26, 1947, that " he was of the considered opinion that non-Muslims of Western Punjab should continue to stay on in their homes."* Lala Avtar Narain of Jhelum, member, Constituent Assembly, Pakistan, issued a Press statement to the same effect and asked the minorities to become good citizens of Pakistan.† At a Minority Convention held at Rawalpindi on July 7, 1947, Dewan Pindi Das Sabharwal and Sardar Sant Singh exhorted the minorities not to leave their homes. Mr. Bhimsen Sachar, Lala Avtar Narain, Dr. Lehna Singh and Parbodh Chander, M.L.A., participated in this Convention, Goswami Ganesh Dutt also sent a message to this Convention. Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna, Finance Minister, North-West Frontier Province, exhorted the Hindus and Sikhs who had

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* *Tribune*, June 29, 1947.

† *Vir Bharat*, July 8, 1947.

migrated from the Frontier Province to return to their homes.* As late as August 10, 1947, Sardar Swaran Singh, in the course of an appeal to the people of Lahore, said, "In spite of the division of the country, all of us—Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs—have to live together. Let us, therefore, live in peace so that the poor and downtrodden may, in the new freedom that we have achieved, get enough to eat and to cover their naked bodies, leading to a happier and fuller life."† With the influx of large numbers of refugees from West Punjab the conviction was borne in upon the non-Muslims that it was impossible for them to live in Pakistan. They then launched large-scale attacks on Muslims by way of retaliation. It was only then that they realized that to drive out the Muslims would furnish an easy solution of their economic problems. They felt that they could not trust the Muslims and their presence in East Punjab was greatly resented. The exodus of Muslims provided them with the opportunity of securing land for the refugees from West Punjab and the drive became widespread and relentless till almost the entire Muslim population was evacuated.

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* *Vir Bharat*, July 13, 1947.

† *Civil and Military Gazette*, August 12, 1947.

VIII

I do not endeavour either by triumphs of confutation, or pleadings of antiquity, or assumption of authority, or even by the veil of obscurity, to invest these inventions of mine with any majesty... I have not sought nor do I seek either to force or ensnare men's judgments, but I lead them to things themselves and the concordances of things, that they may see for themselves what they have, what they can dispute, what they can add and contribute to the common stock.

FRANCIS BACON—*Preface to the Great Instauration*

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

THE task of a writer of contemporary history is not an easy one. He finds it difficult to achieve objectivity because he has himself played a role, however unimportant, in the unfolding of events. There is a tendency, nay a temptation, to seek an interpretation consistent only with his own personal prepossessions. If he or anyone upon whom his affections are centred has suffered in person or in property, the loss assumes undue proportions and the desire to castigate those responsible for it is correspondingly greater. Then again, he has been too near a spectator and his field of vision too large to enable him to view everything in its true perspective. What happens in his neighbourhood or his own sphere of life, an incident (not perhaps of any great moment) which he sees with his own eyes, or hears narrated with the poignancy of freshness, may obscure a more significant occurrence in another part of the country. It is only with the passage of time that the mind can, as it were, draw itself away from the panorama of history and assume a position from which the various happenings of a critical period, their causes and their ultimate influences can be seen, in their true perspective. Finally, the wealth of material available is a serious handicap, for it makes the business of selection difficult. In the writing of history "selection is not merely expedient, it is the essence" of the historian's work; he must pick out what is relevant from a vast quantity of evidence, before he can give an intelligible explanation of the events presented to the reader. The process of selection is rendered more difficult by a realization of the fact that he does not know how his story will end. He must nevertheless study all the available material and make up his mind before he begins to write. A haphazard and colourless narrative intended to provide a purely objective account of what happened will not achieve the dignity of history, for it will fail to accomplish the real business of the historian which is "to establish casual relations between events."

The writer of these pages has endeavoured to present a true and coherent account of the partition of India and what it cost the people of this great country in terms of life, property and mental suffering. The questions he asked himself were many and

puzzling; what were the real causes that led to the partition: who was responsible for breaking up the integral unity of India: was it necessary to concede the demand for Pakistan: was it not possible to avoid so much bloodshed and wholesale destruction of property; can such things happen again and how can we guard against them? To some of these questions the reader will find a satisfactory answer while others will provoke a controversy, for everyone will answer them in his own way and so long, at least, as the wounds inflicted by partition are fresh, opinion on many issues will differ. There will be some who will accuse the Congress leaders of pursuing a wholly unnecessary policy of appeasement towards Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League; while others will hold the view that the majority of Congressmen were indifferent to the economic welfare and the political aspirations of the Muslims and made no attempt to remove their genuine grievances.

That there are, and have always been, differences between the beliefs, habits and outlook of the Muslims and the non-Muslims cannot be denied; but it is equally true that these differences were no more than an expression of individual personality such as may be observed in members of one family where the peculiar traits and features of one branch may be marked enough to distinguish it from another branch, but do not give rise to temperamental incompatibility or open hostility. For over a thousand years Muslims and non-Muslims had lived as neighbours and friends, despite these differences, and it was not till the impact of British imperialism forced them to raise mental and moral defences around themselves that consciousness of their distinctive character was forced upon them. This consciousness was accentuated and exploited by the British rulers. Economic factors brought a sense of frustration to the Muslims, for the Hindus, preferred and favoured by the British, rapidly achieved prosperity. The pendulum of British attention than swung in the opposite direction, and Muslims were urged to make demands for a subsidized existence, in economic and political spheres. These demands were no sooner made than conceded, on an ever-increasing scale, till the population was divided into two hostile and warring camps. The Congress refusal to form coalition ministries in 1937 was a serious blunder and during the war years 1939-46 when the Congress had voluntarily gone into the wilderness, the Muslim League gained power and cohesion. The demand for the partition of India was a logical corollary to the loyal and inspired address

presented to Lord Minto in 1906. Power no doubt corrupts, but it is equally true that corruption seeks power and it was this desire for power that led Mr. Jinnah to assume an uncompromising attitude and say 'no' to every proposal which did not concede the first place to him. Forty years of separate electorates and British favouritism had brought about a state of affairs from which it was impossible to escape except by dismembering the country and disrupting its integral unity.

The professed creed of the Muslim League, its avowedly communal composition, its frankly sectarian objectives and its espousal of unconstitutional methods led inevitably to a widespread conflict of arms. We have seen how the tempo and volume of the venomous propaganda carried on by the League swelled into an ever-increasing crescendo, till leaders like Sir Feroze Khan Noon threatened to repeat the orgies perpetrated by Halaku Khan and Changez Khan. Violence as a means of securing political power began to be preached freely from the Muslim League platform and the Muslim Press made hysterical appeals for a mass rising against the Hindus. A massive drive for the recruitment of Muslim League National Guards was launched ; manufacture and collection of arms began on a large scale and the National Guards soon assumed the proportions of a private army, ready, at a moment's notice, to open an assault on non-Muslim life and property. These National Guards proved, after partition, to be the most ruthless enemies of the non-Muslims in Pakistan. They defied the Civil Administration and carried on a relentless campaign of murder, loot and arson against unoffending non-Muslims even when the police and civil officers were anxious to restore normal conditions.

That League ideology and the line of conduct pursued by it were mainly and directly responsible for the horrible drama, narrated in these pages, is clearly demonstrated by the inexorable logic of chronology. The speeches delivered at the Convention of the Muslim League legislators in April 1946, were an open incitement to violence. On July 29, the Direct Action resolution frankly abjured peaceful and constitutional methods and, on August 16, the campaign of violence was opened at Calcutta under the command and guidance of Mr. Suhrawardy. In October came the tragedy of Noakhali and Tippera. Almost immediately afterwards retaliation followed in Bihar. Then for some months there was

a lull while a major operation in the North-west was being planned. With the riots of March 1947 began the genocide of the non-Muslims. These disturbances were confined to the Muslim majority areas only and the victims were almost invariably Hindus and Sikhs. In May and June there was another flare-up in Lahore. It was not till the end of July that reprisals began in the eastern districts and the mass killing of Muslims took place between August 15 and September 30, 1947, when the arrival of large numbers of refugees from West Punjab and the tales told by them provoked the non-Muslims to retaliate. They were joined by the newly arrived refugees and the grim story of West Punjab was repeated in East Punjab and Delhi.

It is not possible to make an accurate estimate of the total loss of life or the extent of damage to property caused by these riots. Figures computed on the population basis must, of necessity, prove extremely misleading. The census returns of 1941 were not accurate even at the time they were compiled. They became hopelessly wrong, at the end of six years, when a general increase in population and local movements made it impossible to determine, with any degree of accuracy, how many non-Muslims were living in West Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Sind. Nor is it possible to know the total number of Hindu and Sikh refugees who later arrived in India. Rough estimates of the total number of refugees, prepared for purposes of rehabilitation and allotment to the various provinces, do not give a true picture; and the total number of non-Muslims killed or converted cannot be calculated by substracting the number of refugees in India from the number of non-Muslims residing in the area which now comprises Pakistan, for the simple reason that both numbers will be grossly inaccurate. Figures based on the statements of refugee eye-witnesses are a surer guide though even these can, at best, be only approximate. The Fact Finding Organization examined nearly fifteen thousand witnesses and they bear testimony to the murder of fifty thousand non-Muslims. The incidents deposed to by these witnesses, however, represent only a fraction of the total devastation caused. Thousands of villages where riots are known to have taken place do not figure in the material collected by the Organization,* and no account has been taken of incidents not

* Out of a total of 19,914 villages in West Punjab only 2,094 are covered by the evidence collected by the Fact Finding Organization. The figures for the North-West Frontier Province are 2,826 and 362 respectively, and for Bhawalpur 2,376 and 216 respectively.

deposed to by eye-witnesses. Taking these factors into consideration the loss of non-Muslim life has been estimated at a figure between 200,000 and 250,000. It is believed that an equal number of Muslims perished in the course of the riots in India. The loss of non-Muslim property is estimated at about twenty thousand million rupees.

This was a heavy price and the memory of this painful and costly transaction will linger for years and continue to embitter and enrage the refugees. Perhaps there are some who will take warning from this sad chapter in our history and endeavour to guard against a repetition of these events. So long as sectarianism and narrow provincialism are allowed to poison the minds of the people, so long as there are ambitious men with corruption inside them, seeking power and position, so long will the people continue to be deluded and misled, as the Muslim masses were deluded and misled by the League leaders and so long will discord and disruption continue to threaten our peace and integrity.

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APPENDIX I

APPENDIX I

NOTES TO CHAPTERS

Notes to Chapter One

(i)

THE "Seven Commandments of Destiny" enunciated by Choudhary Rehmat Ali in "The Millat and the Mission" (1942) are as follows:—

(1) Avoid Minorityism, which means that we must not leave our minorities in Hindu lands, even if the British and the Hindus offer them the so-called constitutional safeguards. For no safeguards can be a substitute for nationhood which is their birthright. Nor must we keep Hindu or Sikh minorities in our own lands, even if they themselves were willing to remain with or without any special safeguards. For they will never be of us. Indeed, while in ordinary times they will retard our national reconstruction, in times of crisis they will betray us and bring about our re-destruction.

(2) Avow Nationalism. We must assert and demand the recognition of the distinct national status of our minorities in the Hindu majority regions of Dinia and its dependencies, and reciprocally offer to give similar status to the Hindu and Sikh minorities in Pakistan, Bangistan and Osmanistan.

(3) Acquire proportional territory to create Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, Moplistan, Sufistan and Nasaristan. Now in the orbit of Pakasia we form about one-fourth of the total population, and, according to the laws of nature and nations, are entitled to about one-fourth of its area. We must, therefore, press our claims to the proportional areas in all such regions of the Continent and do so without delay.

(4) Consolidate the individual nations. It is dangerous to leave dispersed our minorities in the Hindu-majority regions of Dinia and in Ceylon, we must unify and consolidate them as nations in the countries that will comprise the proportional areas acquired under the previous commandment.

(5) Co-ordinate the nations under the Pak Commonwealth of Nations. To us the Pakistanians, union is not only a source of strength but also a sacred duty.

(6) Convert the sub-continent of India into the continent of Dinia. We must write *finis* to the most deceptive fiction in the world that India is the sphere of Indianism.

(7) Organize the continent of Dinia and its dependencies into the orbit of Pakasia. This is the last commandment and is meant to consolidate the results of the previous commandments. Pakasia connotes that part of Asia wherein our Pak culture is actually or potentially, predominant, and geographically it includes the Continent of Dinia.

(ii)

The text of Mr. Archbold's letter to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk:

"Colonel Dunlop Smith (Private Secretary to the Viceroy) now writes to me that the Viceroy is prepared to receive the deputation of Mussalmans and intimates me that a formal petition be submitted for it. In this connection, the following matters require consideration.

"The first question is that of sending the petition. To my mind it would be enough that some leaders of Mussalmans, even though they may not have been elected, should put their signatures to it. The second is the question as

to who the members of the deputation should be. They should be representatives of all the provinces. The third question is of the contents of the address. In this connection my opinion is that in the address loyalty should be expressed, that thanks should be offered that, in accordance with the settled policy, steps are going to be taken in the direction of self-government according to which the door will be opened for Indians to offices. But apprehension should be expressed that by introducing election injury will be done to Mussalman minority and hope should be expressed that in introducing the system of nomination or granting representation on religious basis the opinion of Mussalmans will be given due weight. The opinion should also be given that in a country like India it is necessary that weight should be attached to the views of zemindars.

" My personal opinion is that the wisest thing for Mussalmans to do would be that they support the system of nomination because the time for introducing election has not yet come. Besides, it will be very difficult for them if the system of election is introduced to secure their proper share.

" But in all these matters I want to remain behind the screen and this move should come from you. You are aware how anxious I am for the good of the Mussalmans and I would, therefore, render all help with the greatest pleasure. I can prepare and draft the address for you. If it be prepared in Bombay then I can revise it because I know the art of drawing up petitions in good language. But Nawabsaheb, please remember that if, within a short time, any great and effective action has to be taken then you should act quickly."

(iii)

Lady Minto recorded in her diary:

" This has been a very eventful day: as someone said to me, ' an epoch in Indian history.' We are aware of the feeling of unrest that exists throughout India, and the dissatisfaction that prevails amongst people of all classes and creeds. The Mohamedan population which numbers 62 millions, who have always been intensely loyal, resent not having proper representation and consider themselves slighted in many ways, preference having been given to the Hindus. The agitators have been most anxious to foster this feeling and have naturally done their utmost to secure the co-operation of this vast community. The younger generation were wavering, inclined to throw in their lot with advanced agitators of the Congress, and a howl went up that the loyal Mohamedans were not to be supported, and that the agitators were to obtain their demands through agitation. The Mohamedans decided, before taking action, that they would bring an address before the Viceroy, mentioning their grievances. The meeting was fixed for today and about 70 delegates from all parts of India have arrived. The ceremony took place this morning in the Ball-room. The girls and I went in by a side door to hear the proceedings while Minto advanced up the room with his staff and took his seat on the dais. The Aga Khan is the spiritual head of the Khoja Moslem community. He claims to be descended from Ali and is their Ruler by divine right, but without territory. The Prince was selected to read the very long but excellent Address stating all their grievances and aspirations. Minto then read his answer which he had thought out most carefully—' You need not ask my pardon for telling me that representative institutions of the European type are entirely new to the people of India or that their introduction here requires the most earnest thought and care I should be very far from welcoming all the political machinery of the western world among the hereditary traditions and instincts of Eastern races . . . . Your address, as I understand it, is a claim that, in any system of representation, whether it affects a Municipality, a District Board, or Legislative Council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organization, the Mohamedan community should be represented as a community You point out that in many cases electoral bodies, as now constituted, cannot be expected to return a Mohamedan candidate, and that if by chance they did so, it could

only be at the sacrifice of such candidate's views to those of a majority opposed to his own community, whom he would in no way represent, and you justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely in accord with you. . . . I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement, regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent."

(iv)

Louis Fischer wrote in the *Hindustan Standard:*

" Winston Churchill remains the implacable enemy of India's independence. He has never disguised his views. Many members of his party differ with him on the question of Indian Freedom, but Churchill's imperialistic policy dominates.

" Mohamed Ali Jinnah has not in recent years given any proof of a devotion to the cause of India's liberation from foreign rule. Nor has the Muslim League over which he presides. Landlords, who bulk large in the counsels of the League, stand to lose by the establishment of a new India, which would certainly alter the present land tenure to the disadvantage of landlords, Muslims as well as Hindus, and to the advantage of all peasants.

" What could be more natural, therefore, than that Churchill and Jinnah should have been in correspondence, in recent months, over the fate of India ? They have quietly exchanged letters and messages. It was shortly after the receipt of one such secret communication from Churchill that the Muslim League reconsidered its acceptance of the British Cabinet Mission's long-term proposals and decided instead to boycott the coming Assembly which is to draw up a constitution for a new free India.

" The Cabinet Mission laboured hard and on the whole successfully to prepare the way for the transfer of political power from British to Indian hands. Churchill and Jinnah are now attempting to undermine the effort."

Notes to Chapter Two

(i)

Mr. Jinnah's love of pageantry grew as he came to be accepted as the sole leader of Muslims in India. At the 30th session of the All-India Muslim League held in April 1943 at Delhi, the President, Mr. Jinnah, was taken out in a huge procession led by a number of decorated elephants who were followed by camels and a squad of Muslim National Guards, on bicycles, displaying Muslim League flags. Muslim National Guards on foot, playing bands and in military formation, followed next. The processionists were raising slogans of " *Allah-o-Akbar*," " *Qaid-i-Azam Zindabad*," " *Pakistan Zindabad* " and " Rulers of Islamic countries *Zindabad*."

At the next session held, in December, at Karachi, Mr. Jinnah was taken out with even greater pomp and show. The procession was led by a rider on horseback carrying a huge League flag. National Guards in uniform marched behind him like an army battallion. They numbered nearly two thousand and were drawn from all the provinces of India. Then followed representatives of the Muslim students and various other Anjumans. There were more than fifty Sindhi horsemen. Then came a formation of camels with men in Sindhi dress riding them. Then a number of camels with riders in Arab dress. Physical culturists, students and boy scouts followed. Then came 50 camels

and 50 caparisoned horses, all mounted by Hajis in Arab costumes. Shouts of "*Allah-o-Akbar*," "*Pakistan Zindabad*," "*Shahinshah-i-Pakistan Zindabad*," "*Faateh-i-Congress Zindabad*" and "*Qaid-i-Azam Zindabad*" were raised on all sides as Mr. Jinnah's decorated carriage came into view.

(ii)

Mr. Fazalul Haq, speaking on a no-confidence motion against the Ministry, moved by Mr. Dhirendra Nath Datta in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on September 19, 1946, said:—

"Sir, during the dark days or nights of the Great Killing, I watched events from the point of view of a member of the Opposition. The news that came to me trickling down from various sources was unfavourable to the Ministers in power. I was very deeply impressed with the fact that during the whole of these disturbances the machinery of Government had completely broken down in this city. Sir, I pondered deeply over the situation, and if I have risen to say a few words on these motions I wish to tell my comrades in this Assembly what I feel very strongly and which I think ought to be raised before the people of Bengal, if Bengal is to be saved at all from utter extermination. There have been Hindu-Muslim quarrels in the past all over India. In many of these quarrels, when cases had been started, I had the privilege of defending the Muslim accused almost all over the country. But, Sir, I have never in the whole course of my life seen anything like the purely fiendish fury with which both Hindus and Muslims have murdered not merely men or women but even small children. I do not know to satisfy what impulse—human or devilish—which seems to have possessed the Bengalees for those fateful days and nights that my countrymen indulged.

"Sir, so far as the Ministers are concerned, I am going to obey the Party mandate and I will cast my votes against the motions before the House. But that is only because I feel constitutionally that we cannot, when a motion like this is tabled, leave the Ministers of our choice to the tender mercies of the Opposition. But if that is so as regards the Ministers, the guardians of law and order who control the police force in Calcutta can claim no protection from us.

"Sir, I will not take much time of the House, but I will refer to a few instances which have been an eye-opener to me. I have felt that the greatest disturbances did not rise in a moment out of the moon but seem to be the result of a well-planned action—may be on one side or may be on both sides. I do not know—God alone knows. The future alone will disclose what is the truth.

"Sir, on Friday morning I received telephone messages from various parts of the city from both Hindus and Muslims that troubles had broken out. I thought it was one of those unfortunate affairs which have shown to the world that although the Bengalees or Indians generally are amongst the most intellectual races of the world, they do not know the virtue of toleration. But, then the situation worsened gradually. I advised those who were telephoning to me, to seek police protection. It was then I came to know that the police were being appealed to and in some cases the police said that they had received no orders. Wonder of wonders! What are the police here for, what are they being paid for, if they do not know that whenever there is a disturbance of the public peace and tranquillity, their first duty is to jump into the situation, if necessary, and to defend public peace and tranquillity with their lives?

"Then, Sir, in the afternoon of that day the Mallick Bazar was looted. It is within about half a mile of my house. I was then standing on the verandah and I found people in great glee and merriment rushing all sides with booty in their hands and police *paharawalas* accompanying them. Everyone was very happy as if they were members of a marriage procession!

"Then, Sir, that night the Park Circus market was looted. I sent one of my nephews and Mr. Khairul Anam, Editor of the *Mohammadi*, to the

Park Circus outpost. Will the House be surprised to hear that the Officer-in-charge was there and he said that he had no time to go and see what was happening. Certainly some change had come over the Calcutta Police !

" Then, Sir, the next day, I believe it was the 17th, the Mahisadal Raj House was looted. That building is about 40 yards from my house and in front of that building on the other side of the road there was a Traffic Police Outpost where there are at least 100 police officers. The House will be surprised to hear—and I am an eye-witness—that the whole of that house was ransacked. It took two hours to clear that house of all its belongings and the police were looking on. I sent one of my clerks to interfere and stop because the Raja was not in the house; he had left previously. The reply my clerk got was ' those people are taking to whom the property belongs ' and, Sir, people came out with all their booty and I received a report that a member of a certain Provincial Service went home with a silver tea tray as a part of the loot.

" I am not here concerned with the details of this nauseating event. I do not wish to discuss how these disturbances began, who was responsible, but I certainly want the House to consider why is it that the trouble was allowed to grow to gigantic proportions, and, within 24 hours, the entire situation was out of control. Now, Sir, I have not been an eye-witness of everything that occurred but one who has suffered most. I am not a young man with a stout heart but, Sir, I am supposed to have something like that sort of grit which can face unpleasant situation, but this time my nerves completely broke down. We could not sleep, batch after batch of ruffians knocked at our doors and every moment seemed to be our last. It seemed, Sir, that not only had British rule ended but that some modern Nadir Shah had come upon Calcutta and had given up the city to rapine, plunder and pillage. Sir, each time I tried to get into touch with police officers I was told that I was to contact the Control Room. I do not know, Sir, who was controlling the Control Room, but whenever I wanted some kind of help the reply came that my complaint has been noted and will be attended to in proper time. Then, Sir, I sometimes tried to get into touch with high officials of Government House. I was told that none but Government servants were allowed to use the telephone to get into touch with the household of His Excellency the Governor. Police officers would not listen, the Control Office would not control, the Government House would not listen, Sir, in these circumstances the Great Killing went on and it is undisputed that this thing would never have happened if the police and the military had taken strong measures on Friday, the 16th, when the trouble began. It would have been nipped in the bud that very day, and, therefore, the conclusion is inevitable that although the police may not be responsible for the origin of disturbances, they are directly responsible for the great loss of human life, and if an impartial enquiry is held and these police officers can be spotted, my opinion is that they deserve to be hanged, drawn and quartered publicly, on charges of murder and abetment of murder. . . .

" Quite within a stone's throw of Lalbazar, the Scotland Yard of Calcutta, Limton Watch Company, at the junction of Bowbazar and Dalhousie Square, was looted. The whole ceremony of looting took about 2 or 2½ hours. Police officers came but only to take part in the loot. One of my friends who somehow managed to see what was going on told me that half an hour after the loot people were seen rushing out with wrist watches and other articles of value and most of them were policemen."

Mr. Dhirendra Narayan Mukherji who had accompanied Mr. Suhrawardy on a tour of the affected areas, describing his experiences, said:

" We turned towards the Bowbazar Street but could not proceed far, as the other crowd blocked the way. I got down and tried to persuade them to disperse. There was an Assistant Commissioner of Police with a lorry-load of policemen, some of them armed with rifles, but they merely looked on. As the crowd was in no mood to listen to him the Chief Minister decided to leave,

and while the car was turning back, brickbats were thrown at it. The picture given by the Chief Minister in the Upper House about the violent mood of the crowd, has been too much overcoloured and had he stayed on, I am sure his courage and sincerity would have been eventually appreciated even by a Hindu mob. I stayed on, tried to pacify the crowd, and was successful.

" While there, I learnt that some *bustee* at the corner of Bowbazar Street and Amherst Street had been set on fire. I rushed there, and arranged to bring out the Fire Brigade by using a phone from Bandhab Bastralaya. The police were patrolling the streets but not helping to disperse the crowd or stop the fire. At the corner I was persuading a large crowd to disperse; while doing so a police lorry came, and a European officer pointed a gun at me and fired a shot. Immediately the whole crowd melted away. It was tear gas, and I asked the officer why he fired without warning. He said he wanted to disperse the crowd and I pointed out to him that as the crowd was already on the point of dispersing at my persuasion, the tear gas would only irritate them and might have resulted in a shower of brickbats, and retaliatory shots fired by sergeants. I complained that patrol police merely looked on, making no attempt to stop the fire. The officer, Mr. Barnes, a Deputy Commissioner of Police, then left. The altercation with him gave me an advantage—the police must have thought me a person of importance. I managed to restore peace in the locality and at 1 o'clock I was told there that rioting had broken out at Sealdah corner. I hastened to the spot and found fighting going on between Hindus and Muslims inside Baithakhana Bazar. I was successful in putting a stop to it. Just as I came out on the Bowbazar Street, I found a wine shop in the Circular Road-Bowbazar corner ablaze, and both Muslims and policemen in uniform busy taking away the bottles. Some of the bottles I found stored in the police lorry. I caught hold of a policeman carrying away two bottles from the shop, and dragged him before the Police Sergeant, but no action was taken and the man ran away.

" I saw that a very big Muslim procession had come to the Sealdah corner from the Upper Circular Road side. They were carrying swords, *lathis*, etc., and wanted aggressively to pass through Bowbazar Street. I moved towards them and suggested, they might go to the maidan, by continuing through the Circular Road and Dharamtalla Street instead of forcing their way through Bowbazar. All of a sudden, some of them began to break open the shops on Circular Road and loot them. Some rushed and surrounded me and began to beat me. One young Muslim, apparently a student, gave me a blow, declaring he would break my teeth. Another brandished his long knife shouting that he was thirsty for my blood. Further mischief was prevented by some who must have appreciated my motives. Just then, one of the Sergeants who had been with Mr. Barnes rushed with two armed policemen into the crowd and brought me back to comparative safety. Anyway, the processionists changed their mind and passed on through Circular Road, as I had suggested, instead of trying to force their way through Bowbazar. Meanwhile, another armed and a more violent crowd came up from Beliaghata side and wanted to force their way through Bowbazar. Policemen, both ordinary and armed, about 50 in number, were there in two lorries under the direction of Sergeants. I suggested to the Sergeants that the two lorries might be placed blocking the entrance to Bowbazar Street, and the police should fire to prevent the clash between the two crowds. The Sergeants paid no heed. The Beliaghata crowd looted the aerated waters shop at the corner and began to hurl the bottles and rushed in to Bowbazar Street, and proceeded two to three hundred yards. I could not prevent them forcing in, nor could I persuade them to get back. Instead, I got *lathi* blows on my arms. This crowd was prevented from passing through Bowbazar Street by a shower of brickbats.

" I learnt that processionists passing through Circular Road were rushing inside the lanes leading to west, and assaulting the local residents. I went round and saw at Dixon Lane one gentleman lying dead in the street with

his throat gashed, blood still spouting up. He was a Hindu, who was coming through Circular Road, and had been chased by the *goondas*. This was about a hundred yards from Circular Road."

(iii)

Alec Reid, who paid a visit to Noakhali in February 1949, wrote as follows:

"I have given, in a previous article, some idea of the great work being carried on in Noakhali by those who have devoted the past two years of their lives to the Gandhi Camps—men and women who have fearlessly succoured those who suffered as a result of the communal passions let loose in the district towards the end of 1946.

"But there is another side to the picture and to appreciate it properly, let me first introduce you to Sah Sayed Gulam Sarwar Hussaini, Pir of Daira-Shariff, Dhampur, Noakhali. That is what he calls himself, but for the sake of brevity let me simply refer to him as Gulam Sarwar by which name he has been most widely known in Bengal these past two years.

"It was just after the great Calcutta Massacre that he first came into real prominence. Noakhali was aflame with communal hate and stories trickled through to Calcutta connecting this man with the affair. Then the military moved in and Mr. Sarwar disappeared from the public eye; he was reported to have been locked up. Came partition and, according to officials in Dacca, he was pardoned owing to 'insufficient evidence' and also the fact that 'no prosecution witnesses had come forward.' How could they?—many must have been dead, others must have fled westwards or perhaps those that remained found it healthier not to proceed with their charges.

"At any rate, Mr. Sarwar is now as large as life in Noakhali District—and he is a man with a mission. He does not like those people who run the Gandhi Camps and he thinks they should be closed. He told me that himself when I met him in his home village one Sunday afternoon three weeks ago. It all came about like this.

"I had heard in Dacca that it had been reported that Sarwar was making inflammatory speeches. According to a leading official, he had sent to Noakhali for a report (afterwards I asked the authorities there whether they had received that report; they said they had not). So I determined to see Sarwar and ask him what he felt about things in general.

"Our meeting was arranged after some trouble in the school of his village. I was told that the local *thana* had been suggested as a rendezvous, but apparently Mr. Sarwar had raised some objection. At any rate, I arrived at the appointed hour—11-30 a.m.—and was received by one of the schoolmasters. That something unusual was afoot had spread through the village, for a large crowd had gathered and the windows of the room where our meeting was to take place were lined with interested spectators who had taken up their positions early to avoid the rush.

"We settled down to a cup of tea and the master informed me that a message had been sent to Sarwar's house to inform him that I had arrived. Shortly after noon it was announced that he was having a bath and he would be along in a few minutes. We waited. I grew impatient, for I had far to go that afternoon. Another emissary was sent and back came the reply that he was more or less on his way. The audience had increased. Our room was now invaded with interested spectators. It was not every day that the big man received a Press representative.

"At the stroke of one there was a hush—within and without. He was approaching. Then through the windows came a chorus of *salaams*. The door shot open and, in the flowing robes of a spiritual leader, stood Sarwar. With an arrogant stare he surveyed the room; his thick sensuous lips pouted as his

followers rose with one accord to greet him. He looked me up and down and with a flourish sat at the head of the table.

" Then there followed much formality. He demanded paper and ink, declaring that everything must be duly noted down. The schoolmaster was appointed scribe, interpreter, master of ceremonies. Our interview lasted three hours, for not only did I interview Sarwar but he insisted on interviewing me. While the hunt for paper and ink went on, he sat back in his chair and surveyed me while I surveyed him. I felt it would be appropriate if at a given signal somebody shouted, ' Seconds out of the ring.'

" An aged lieutenant sat on his left hand and on his right a gentleman in the garb of a Hindu. Where did he fit into the picture, I pondered. I got the answer two and a half hours later; he was the Trump Card. The lieutenant seemed to be enjoying the situation. He sucked noisily through his teeth—I suspected they were false—and leered wickedly at some of his companions as much as to say, ' We're in for a good afternoon's entertainment.'

" All was ready at last. There was silence as I put my first question: what was the feeling locally about refugees coming back to the district? The reply was prompt. ' The feeling is very hopeful and brotherly and akin to peace. The Muslims will receive the Hindu ladies as their mothers and their sisters and their menfolk as their brothers.'

" On went my questions and back came the replies with Sarwar careful not to commit himself in any way. The scribe—at times almost overcome with his efforts—took copious notes while his pen screeched in protest. Tea and fruit were ordered, for it was thirsty work, and as the afternoon wore on we consumed many cups.

" The interest, so far as the audience were concerned, never flagged; there was for them never a dull moment. But there was an awkward one all the same. Sarwar had proudly informed me that he had over 20,000 followers and when I remarked on the frightful condition of the roads and suggested that he might use his influence and manpower to good account by having them repaired, for (with an eye to the audience) I pointed out that the villagers and farm workers would in the end suffer untold hardships if their already slender lines of communication broke down altogether. Mr. Sarwar was annoyed. Some of his younger followers glanced at each other. His chief lieutenant sucked noisily through his teeth. The Trump Card winced. The scribe scratched furiously at his minutes. The feuhrer's face clouded. He gave me a nasty look, then snapped back that he was much too busy with other things to organize such a scheme.

" After an hour I had finished my questioning. It was now his turn. We talked of many things. I was asked my views on the future of the two Dominions, the international situation; on Linlithgow, Wavell and Mountbatten, on others who had played a part in the Indian scene. Sarwar seemed quite a glutton for knowledge. At any rate the audience were interested and the schoolmaster wrote much more than he had for many a long day. There was a pause. I sensed that something out of the ordinary was coming; the gathering had leaned forward with fresh interest. Sarwar had sat back. He glanced round the room, pushed his arms outwards to their full length and stretched his fingers as if he were about to strangle some imaginary foe. This was obviously the *pièce de resistance*. Then he broke the silence with the words—' And now let me tell you about the Gandhi Camps.'

" There followed a recitation of ' facts.' Sarwar makes continual use of them in the meetings he addresses up and down the countryside. The leaders of the Camps did not follow the ideals laid down by their founder. The Camps were filled with fifth columnists, members of the R.S.S. and Communists and their main object was to create disturbances to interfere in the brotherly relations of Hindus and Muslims. They must be closed. The Gandhi Camp

workers wanted to control the Muslims of East Pakistan in every possible way by adopting a ' Nazi and Fascist policy.'

" When he had finished Sarwar turned to the gentleman on his right. It was then that I learned that he was the Trump Card. He was a Hindu, a man well known locally, and he would corroborate all that had been said. And this unfortunate individual did so with great zest. I learned afterwards that he acted as Sarwar's chairman at his various meetings throughout the countryside: it was alleged that he had had a hand in ' planting ' evidence used in some of the prosecutions that had been started against several Gandhi Camp workers. It was the old, old technique. The Nazis developed it to a fine art. Repeat the same lies and abuse against your opponents over and over again and produce someone belonging to your adversaries' community and make him say that you are speaking the truth. There was once a man called Quisling who lived in Norway.

" I stopped at a village the next day. Two local Muslims said they wanted to have a word with me. This is what they had to say: ' We have had a lot of trouble in this district. We have had enough of it; we want to live in peace with the Hindus. We have no quarrel with them; we never really had. But there are several in this district who go about making speeches which do no good. Gulam Sarwar says he intends coming here. We have sent a special request to the District Magistrate at Noakhali to stop him. We don't want him.'

" My next interview was in Noakhali with the District Magistrate. I told him of my visit to the Gandhi Camps and of the excellent work that was being done there. A mild-mannered man, he listened with courteous attention. I told him of Sarwar's allegations and when I asked him his views, he very guardedly and with much hesitation, admitted that the Camps were there for the common good.

" We were joined by the Superintendent of Police, but what he had to say was without the slightest hesitation whatsoever. I wanted to know what he thought about the Gandhi Camps. Well, I would have it. With hands that shook with emotion as he lit a cigarette, he went even further than Gulam Sarwar. According to him, in the first place the coming of Gandhiji to Noakhali was just a ' hoax ' designed to draw attention to the communal disturbances there, which had been in seriousness ' exaggerated beyond all proportion.' Gandhiji had been hesitant to leave even when the Bihar riots started as he wanted to ' divert attention ' to East Bengal.

" Then the police official got into his full stride on the question of the Camps themselves. They were filled with Communists, members of the R.S.S., various types of fifth columnists who were ' agents of the Government of Hindustan.' Why were they supplied with so much money; he demanded. Their chief job was to cause disaffection in the surrounding countryside. I looked at the District Magistrate as this tirade continued. He appeared to have forgotten his earlier conversation with me and now seemed in complete agreement with the representative of the police. The latter thundered on.

" As for the Gandhi Camp workers, he dealt with several of them individually and ' scoundrel ' was the least of the various epithets he applied to them while enumerating their various ' crimes.' But, according to him, they were an uncommonly wily crew. Attempts had been made to intercept their mail to India, but they sent it by special couriers and they ' disguised themselves as Muslims ' while carrying communications between the various Camps, which were nothing less than ' nests of intrigue.' They said they were loyal to the East Bengal Government—why then did they not fly the Pakistan flag? He would see they did on next Independence Day. But in the meantime the Camps must be closed. The authorities could not tolerate the present state of affairs any longer. As to when exactly they would be closed, he spoke of possible immediate ' repercussions ' in view of the various inter-Dominion

talks, but whatever happened they were determined that they would be closed sooner or later. And so he went on for over an hour.

" What are the various ' crimes ' that several of the Gandhi Camp workers are charged with ? Chief among the accused is Col. Jiwan Singh, formerly of the I.N.A. He was arrested some months ago on a fantastic charge of abducting a Hindu woman for immoral purposes. He was interned in Noakhali while I was there and had to report twice a day to the *thana*. When Gandhiji was in Bengal Col. Jiwan Singh became one of his most devout followers. Gandhiji personally put him in charge of several of the Camps. He faced with bravery the dangers of carrying on the work. He is a man of the highest integrity. To say that the charge against him is ' fantastic ' is putting it mildly. After several farcical hearings it was found that there was not sufficient evidence against him and so the authorities were willing to stop the proceedings (but at the same time not clear his name) if the Colonel left East Bengal. He refused.

" Two other Camp workers have been implicated in a charge of murder. One, a trusted follower of Gandhiji, was marched many miles by road handcuffed. Other charges are pending against several more men of the same calibre.

" Thus the campaign of repression goes on. The authorities seem determined to ' frame ' as many of the Camp workers as they can. Beyond doubt their aim is gradually to freeze the Camps out of existence by such diabolical methods. What price justice in Noakhali District?

" What is the purpose of this campaign against the Gandhi Camps? Dacca has been kept fully informed of their work and the authorities there know of the repressive measures being used against them. Why is it that they do not silence Gulam Sarwar? There was once a Superintendent of Police in Noakhali who was sympathetic towards the Camps—why was he transferred? These questions require an answer.

" Is it that the authorities in East Bengal do not want a meeting ground for both communities? Is it that they do not wish a Hindu minority once more to arise and take its place in the working of the State? Is this the prelude to the founding of a true Islamic State?

" Already certain members of the East Bengal Government have visited the Camps and expressed themselves satisfied as to their *bona fides*. But they have done nothing on their return to Dacca. Perhaps the time is now ripe, in the interests of inter-Dominion peace, for a commission of inquiry to be sent from Karachi. If properly conducted it will find that the Camps are not ' nests of intrigue ' but starting points for communal peace."

—" The Mission of Gulam Sarwar: What price justice in East Bengal? "
The Hindustan Times, March 22, 1949.
(By courtesy of *The Hindustan Times*.)

Notes to Chapter Three

(i)

The Sikandar-Jinnah Pact drawn up at Lucknow, October 15, 1937:

(1) That on his return to the Punjab Sir Sikandar Hayat will convene a special meeting of his Party and advise all Muslim members of his party who are not members of the Muslim League already to sign its creed and join it. As such they will be subject to the rules and regulations of the Central and Provincial Boards of the All-India Muslim League. This will not affect the continuance of the present coalition and of the Unionist Party;

(2) That in future elections and by-elections for the Legislature after the adoption of this arrangement, the Groups constituting the present Unionist Party will jointly support the candidates put up by their respective Groups;

(3) That the Muslim members of the Legislature who are elected on or accept the League ticket will constitute the Muslim League Party within the Legislature. It shall be open to the Muslim League Party so formed to maintain or enter into coalition or alliance with any other party consistently with the fundamental principles, policy and programme of the League. Such alliances may be evolved upon after the elections. The existing combinations shall maintain its present name " The Unionist Party."

(ii)

Printed and cyclostyled copies of the following circular were secretly distributed among the Muslims of India:

(1) All Muslims of India should die for Pakistan.

(2) With Pakistan established whole of India should be conquered.

(3) All people of India should be converted to Islam.

(4) All Muslim kingdoms should join hands with the Anglo-American exploitation of the whole world.

(5) One Muslim should get the right of five Hindus, i.e., each Muslim is equal to five Hindus.

(6) Until Pakistan and Indian Empire is established, the following steps should be taken:—

(*a*) All factories and shops owned by Hindus should be burnt, destroyed, looted and loot should be given to League Office.

(*b*) All Muslim Leaguers should carry weapons in defiance of order.

(*c*) All nationalist Muslims if they do not join League must be killed by secret Gestapo.

(*d*) Hindus should be murdered gradually and their population should be reduced.

(*e*) All temples should be destroyed.

(*f*) Muslim League spies in every village and district of India.

(*g*) Congress Leaders should be murdered, one in one month by secret method.

(*h*) Congress upper offices should be destroyed by secret Muslim Gestapo, single person doing the job.

(*i*) Karachi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Goa, Vizagapatam should be paralysed by December 1946 by Muslim League volunteers.

(*j*) Muslim should never be allowed to work under Hindus in Army, Navy, Government services or private firms.

(*k*) Muslim should sabotage whole of India and Congress Government for the final invasion of India by Muslims.

(*l*) Financial resources are given by Muslim League. Invasion of India by Nizam communist, few Europeans, Khoja by Bhopal, few Anglo-Indians, few Parsis, few Christians, Punjab, Sind and Bengal will be places of manufacture of all arms, weapons for Muslim Leaguers invasion and establishing of Muslim Empire of India.

(*m*) All arms, weapons should be distributed to Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras, Bangalore, Lahore, Karachi, branches of Muslim League.

(*n*) All sections of Muslim League should carry minimum equipment of weapons, at least pocket knife at all times to destroy Hindus and drive all Hindus out of India.

(*o*) All transport should be used for battle against Hindus.

(*p*) Hindu women and girls should be raped, kidnapped and converted into Muslims from October 18, 1946.

(*q*) Hindu culture should be destroyed.

(*r*) All Leaguers should try to be cruel at all times to Hindus and boycott them socially, economically and in many other ways.

(*s*) No Muslim should buy from Hindu dealers. All Hindu produced films should be boycotted. All Muslim Leaguers should obey these instructions and bring into action by September 15, 1946.

(iii)

No. 2.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, LAHORE,
5th September, 1947.

DEAR MR. JINNAH,

Many thanks for your letter of 26th August, which arrived just after you left on Monday. I will certainly write to you more often than once a fortnight to keep you in touch with the situation here. I will also, as you asked me to, write quite frankly.

The law and order position here has improved very definitely, but there are still great dangers. I got a telephone message from the Commissioner Multan last night that Muzaffargarh was giving trouble, and Dera Ghazi Khan is still disturbed. I think that the raiders took a pretty severe knock. There was serious trouble in Jhang, due, partly at least I think, to the incapacity and low morale of the Deputy Commissioner, but it seems to be quiet now. I am apprehensive about Lyallpur. In the next two days I am visiting Multan, Lyallpur and Jhang. I had hoped to go to Dera Ghazi Khan, but cannot get a light aeroplane, which is the only way of getting there quickly. So I have asked the Deputy Commissioner to meet me in Multan and bring the Nawab Leghari with him, if he can. I expect trouble in all the Western districts. The refugee problem is assuming gigantic proportions. The only limit that I can see to it is that set by the Census reports. According to reports, the movement across the border runs into a *lakh* or so a day. At Chuharkana in the Sheikhupura District I saw between a *lakh* and a *lakh* and a half of Sikhs collected in the town and round it, in the houses, on the roofs and everywhere. It was exactly like the Magh Mela in Allahabad. It will take 45 trains to move them, even at 4,000 people per train; or, if they are to stay there, they will have to be given 50 tons of *ata* a day. At Govindgarh in the same district there was a collection of 30,000 or 40,000 Mazhbi Sikhs with arms. They refused even to talk to the Deputy Commissioner, an Anglo-Indian, who advanced with a flag of truce. They shot at him and missed. Finally arrangements were made to evacuate the lot. I am telling every one that I don't care how the Sikhs get across the border; the great thing is to get rid of them as soon as possible. There is still little sign of 3 *lakh* Sikhs in Lyallpur moving, but in the end they too will have to go.

The most serious recent development is the very rapid deterioration in the reliability of the Army. Yesterday Pathans in a Frontier Force Rifle battalion in Gujranwala seized their arms and established a road block on the main road, and their officers could do nothing with them. Brigadier McDonald, who belongs to the regiment and can talk Pushto, was sent out this morning and the situation is now under control. I do not know quite what the mutiny was about. I imagine that the real trouble was that the Commanding Officer is a *bania* and the Second in Command a Sikh ! All the Hindus and Sikhs of the Battalion are being sent today across the border. The Muslims will, as soon as possible, be sent to Jhelum. Anyhow, this and other incidents—

I understand that things are worse in this respect in N.W.F. Province—have convinced the Military that their own non-Muslim troops are number one priority for evacuees. And yet a proposal was seriously put forward that the Military should take over our police.

I am getting very doubtful—and so is the General—whether the plan of protecting evacuee camps by troops of their own nationality will work in practice. But we will have to try it and keep the two armies absolutely apart. I think that we could secure the safety of non-Muslim camps on our side, but I doubt very much whether any Muslim camps in the East would be safe with a Sikh guard. Se we will have to do our best to work the scheme on our side in order to keep it going on the other.

From various sources I hear that the political situation is deteriorating. Yesterday there was a minor refugee demonstration with shouts of " Pakistan Murdabad "—I am told that Shaukat is afraid to show his face in the Muslim Refugee Camp here. I warned my Ministry about a week ago that this sort of thing was inevitable, that when things go wrong on a large scale it is always the Government that gets the blame. At first they were inclined to attribute any unpopularity they may have sensed to the machinations of Firoz, Khaksars, etc. This was mere self-delusion and very dangerous. This feeling of resentment against things in general and against the Government in particular is bound to grow. The ways in which, as far as I can see, it can be countered are (*a*) propaganda reiterating what Government is doing for the refugees and (*b*) an efficient administration.

Efficiency with my present staff is out of the question. We have one Financial Commissioner, instead of a normal two or three, and our present one, Akhtar Hussain, though loyal and a good technical revenue officer, is certainly not capable of doing two men's work. Out of three Commissioners of Divisions we have only one, and he is from all accounts, hardly up to the job. Out of five D.I.Gs. Police we have only three and two are recently joined outsiders, one from U.P. and one from C.P. Finally to crown all, we have no Chief Secretary—the Finance Secretary, a mediocre officer, is supposed to be doing both jobs. In all these matters the Ministry had to adopt the attitude of the ostrich.

They have got a " new scheme " by which no Chief Secretary is required: a senior departmental Secretary to Government apparently is called Chief Secretary and draws the pay. The shortage of Commissioners is to be met partially by abolishing the post of Commissioner of Lahore.

I have not yet troubled them on the subject of the Chief Secretaryship but on the general question of staff and, incidentally, that of the Commissionership of the Lahore Division. I called in Liaquat and Mohammad Ali and had a joint meeting with them and my Ministers. Largely by Liaquat's help I got the Ministers to agree to our trying to get back a number of ex-Punjab and ex-U.P. British I.C.S. officers and to the retention of the Lahore Division. Shaukat was a bit difficult, I don't quite know why.

We had, from our point of view, a successful meeting with Nehru, Patel and company on Wednesday. Your Ministers and we had the day before drawn up a paper on refugee policy, which went through after about four hours rather desultory talk with only drafting amendments. The main fight was over certain proposals of East Punjab by which their troops or officers would be allowed to enter West Punjab on various pretexts. Finally, I had it conveyed to Nehru that the conference would break down unless they gave way, which they did. I enclose a copy of the final paper for your Excellency's information.

Patel kept silence for the first three hours and then said that we were all wasting our time, and delivered a lecture on how things should have been done months ago. According to Liaquat the mistakes which he claimed had been

made were largely due to his own attitude in the Partition Council. He was really getting at Nehru, who sat with closed eyes, half asleep. After the meeting when my A.D.C. was waiting to show Trivedi and Patel into their car he heard the following conversation:

"*Trivedi:* Panditji looks quite done up.

Patel: So he deserves to be, flying all over the country and making fools of us all."

I hope that we have now seen an end of the visits to this province of Nehru and his fellow politicians. By his hectoring manner he did considerable damage to the morale of the District Administration of Sheikhupura. Besides, he brings newspaper-men like Durga Das with him. I hope that it will be possible to prevent further visits to Lahore.

This all sounds very gloomy, but we are all in quite good heart. Moss and Amin-ud-Din are pillars of strength. If we can get some of our old officers back, the whole situation will change.

I do not know whether I have addressed you in this letter as you wish to be addressed. If not, will you please let me know?

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) FRANCIS MUDIE.

His Excellency Qaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
Governor General of Pakistan,
Karachi.

Note to Chapter Five

The letter of Khan Bahadur Allah Bux to the Viceroy renouncing his titles:

"I have decided to renounce both the honours (K.B. and O.B.E.) I hold from the British Government, as I feel I cannot, consistently with my views and convictions, retrain them any longer. India has been struggling for her national freedom for a long time past. Upon the outbreak of the present war, it was hoped that, under the very principles and ideology in defence of which the Allies were waging a titanic conflict, India would be made free to participate in the world struggle as a free country. Convinced as I am that India has every right to be free and that the people of India should have conditions in which they could live in peace and harmony, the declaration and action of the British Government have made it clear that, instead of giving co-operation to various Indian parties and communities in settling their differences and parting with power to the people of the land and allowing them to live happily in freedom and mould the destinies of their country according to their birthright, the policy of the British Government has been to continue their imperialistic hold on India and persist in keeping her under subjection, use political and communal differences for propaganda purposes and crush the national forces to serve their own imperialistic aims and intentions. The latest speech delivered by Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons has caused the greatest disappointment to all men of goodwill who wish to see justice rendered to India—which is long due to her. As that hapless pronouncement withholds

such justice from India and adds to the volume of evidence that Britain has no desire to give up her imperialistic hold on India, I feel I cannot retain the honours I hold from the British Government which, in the circumstances that have arisen, I cannot but regard as tokens of British imperialism."

Note to Chapter Six

That is what Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan says in "Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier": "The first to go were the Honorary Magistrates. Their powers were henceforth to be exercised by the regular Courts. These old-fashioned gentlemen were mostly corrupt, some were illiterate, almost all were ignorant of the first principles of Criminal Law. Powers had been conferred on such people because they acted as the intermediaries through whom the British hoped to control the masses. . . . The Zaildars who were placed over the headmen of a number of villages were mostly corrupt. They were often employed by the police for cooking up false cases and also sometimes as intermediaries for collecting bribes for dishonest officials. They too shared the fate of the Honorary Magistrates. Then there were the Muafidars (Muafi is the cash remission of land revenue granted to a person) who were no better than parasites. The Muafidars were mainly Government informers, unpatriotic men always anxious to create trouble for those who believed in freedom. . . . The Zaildars, the Honorary Magistrates and the Muafidars soon became the champions of Islam and with the cry of 'Islam in danger' were the Frontier's first recruits to the Muslim League, of which, in this province, they still formed the backbone. This class saw an admirable opportunity in the Muslim League, where, while posing as champions of Islam, they could protect their own vested interests and settle old scores against the progressive forces."

APPENDIX II

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
LIBRARY

APPENDIX II
TABLES AND STATEMENTS

DISTRICT LAHORE

Sl. No.	Name of village	Date	Number of witnesses	Nature of incident	Number of casualties		Number of converted	Number of kidnapped or abducted
					Killed	Injured		
1	Pattoki	Mid. Aug.	5	Murder and desecration ..	195	300	—	—
2	Thakipur	16-8-47	3	Murder and loot	15	—	—	—
3	Manhala Kalan ..	17-8-47	8	Murder, loot, abduction, conversion and desecration.	15	Several	—	Several
4	Halloki	19-8-47	2	Murder and kidnapping.. ..	32	—	—	—
5	Deo Sid	Do.	6	Murder, loot, arson & abduction.	400	Many	—	8
6	Bhikhiwind ..	Do.	2	Murder, loot and abduction ..	17	Many	—	11
7	Raja Jang	20-8-47	2	Murder, loot and conversion	50	—	Many	—
		24-8-47	12		15	—	Many	—
8	Shahpur Kanjra ..	20-8-47	3	Murder, loot and conversion ..	8	Many	400	—
9	Padhana	Do	5	Murder, loot, arson & abduction	125	25	—	4
10	Bugri	Do.	3	Murder and loot	38	—	—	—
11	Bhasin	Do.	5	Murder and loot	26	—	—	—
12	Wagha	Do.	5	Murder, loot and arson ..	15	—	—	—
13	Kacha Pucca ..	20-8-47	3	Murder and conversion ..	24	—	Whole village	—
		23-8-47	3					
14	Luliani	22-8-47	18	Murder, loot and desecration ..	125	200	—	—
15	Gagon	23-8-47	3	Murder and loot	27	5	—	—
16	Ganjay Sadhu ..	Do.	6	Murder, loot, arson and abduction	22	5	—	10
17	Kahna Kachha ..	Do.	6	Murder, loot and abduction ..	3	—	—	2
18	Mokal	Do.	2	Murder and loot	27	—	—	—
19	Jia Bagga	24-8-47	4	Murder, loot and abduction ..	80	—	—	—
20	Niaz Beg	28-8-47	5	Murder, conversion & abduction	30	—	24	4

DISTRICT SHEIKHUPURA

1	Hardey	17-8-47	8	Murder, abduction, rape and loot.	150	200	—	70 abducted 20 raped
2	Sharakpur	18-8-47	1	Murder, abduction, conversion and loot.	150	—	15	10
3	Jatri Vikran ..	21-8-47	12	Murder, loot and desecration ..	400	130	—	—
4	Bhuller	21-8-47 22-8-47	1	Murder, abduction and loot. (aided by Muslim League National Guards and military).	650	—	—	—
5	Gangapur	22-8-47	2	Murder, abduction and loot ..	500	—	—	450
6	Bhaini	23-8-47	1	Loot and desecration	—	—	—	—
7	Dhaban Singh ..	24-8-47	35	Murder and loot	89	—	—	—
8	Awan	24-8-47	1	Murder, abduction, loot and conversion.	100	—	160	125
9	Malakpur	25-8-47	1	Murder, arson, loot & abduction	11	E.F.N.A.	—	29
10	Kile, near Shahdra	27-8-47	1	Murder and loot.	6	—	—	—
		7-9-47	1	Murder (by military).	100	48	—	—
11	Faridabad	28-8-47	6	Murder, conversion and loot ..	30	—	E.F.N.A.	—
12	Gaji Andriooni ..	29-8-47	1	Murder and abduction (aided by military).	54	E.F.N.A.	—	10
13	Gopalpura	Aug. 47	2	Murder, abduction and loot (aided by military and police).	67	—	—	4
14	Gazi Mudwala ..	Aug. 47	10	Murder, burning alive, loot, arson, abduction and rape (aided by military).	67	—	—	4
15	Gobindgarh ..	2-9-47	1	Murder	E.F.N.A.	—	—	—
		22-9-47	1	Murder and loot (by police and military).	30	60	—	—
16	Chak No. 11 G.B.	3-9-47	1	Murder and loot	60	—	—	—
17	Machhike	17-9-47	1	Murder and loot (by military) ..	150	100	—	—
18	Bucheki	—	10	Murder, loot, arson and death by starvation.	11	3	—	—
19	Chak No. 5 ..	—	7	Murder, arson, loot and abduction (by military).	500	70	30	—
	Ambekalia	—	7	Murder, abduction and loot ..	80	20	—	20

E.F.N.A.—Exact figures not available.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Date	Number of witnesses	Nature of incident	Number of casualties		Number of converted	Number of kidnapped or abducted
					Killed	Injured		
20	Feroz Wattuan ..	—	3	Murder, loot, abduction and conversion.	3	—	E.F.N.A.	6
21	Bahalwala	—	3	Murder, loot, abduction and arson.	1,000	500	Do.	100
22	Chak No. 58 ..	—	2	Murder and loot (by military) ..	100	70	—	—
23	Kalike	—	5	Murder, abduction and loot ..	15	12	50	50
	Do.	—	5	Attack on running train (by military).	150	—	—	—
24	Bandeki	—	2	Murder, abduction and loot ..	16	—	—	4
25	Warburton ..	—	32	Murder and loot (by military) ..	120	—	—	—
				DISTRICT SIALKOT				
1	Kalian	28-8-47	2	Arson, abduction and loot ..	—	—	—	2
2	Umho Chak ..	14-8-47	1	Murder and loot	18	—	—	—
3	Ranghar	16-8-47	2	Murder, abduction, loot and conversion.	300	—	15	40
4	Rangpur	15-8-47	1	Murder, loot and arson ..	5	16	—	—
5	Gondal	15-8-47	2	General loot	—	—	—	—
6	Kullowal	15-8-47	2	Murder, loot, abduction and conversion.	200	53	15	250
7	Sukhial	16-8-47	1	Murder, loot and arson ..	7	—	—	—
8	Othian	16-8-47	43	Murder, loot and conversion ..	62	140	—	30
9	Udho Khir ..	16-8-47	2	Loot, murder and arson ..	2	E.F.N.A.	—	—
10	Halowal	16-8-47	1	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	100	—	—	500
11	Killa	17-8-47	1	Murder, conversion, abduction, loot and arson.	1	—	30	3

12	Kartarpur Bostan ..	17-8-47	5	Conversion, loot and arson ..	—	—	1,000	—
13	Dharewal	17-8-47	1	Murder and loot	10	4	—	—
14	Rangpura	18-8-47	2	Murder, loot and arson ..	12	—	—	—
15	Ramal	18-8-47	1	Murder, loot and arson ..	25	—	—	—
16	Nadala	18-8-47	1	Murder, loot and arson ..	8	—	—	—
17	Taranwala	18-8-47	2	Murder, general loot and arson..	2	—	—	—
18	Kuluwal	18-8-47	13	Murder, abduction, loot and arson (aided by M.L.N.G.).	600	200	—	15
19	Nainia	18-8-47	1	Murder, loot and arson ..	6	—	—	—
20	Beli	18-8-47	1	Murder and loot	40	—	—	—
21	Darman	18-8-47	1	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	15	—	—	7
22	Kanjrur Dattan ..	18-8-47	14	Murder, mass conversion, loot and arson (aided by M.L.N.G. and Muslim military).	500	300	80	300
23	Adamkeychima ..	18-8-47	2	Murder, general loot and arson..	14	—	—	—
24	Jadhowali	18-8-47	5	Murder and loot	150	—	—	—
25	Jadhola	18-8-47	9	General loot and arson	1	—	—	—
26	Gill	18-8-47	2	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	50	—	—	7
27	Gharowal	18-8-47	1	Murder and loot	30	20	—	—
28	Bhatta	19-8-47	1	General loot and abduction ..	7	—	—	6
29	Shalla	19-8-47	1	Loot and murder..	2	—	—	1
30	Gangwal	19-8-47	2	Murder, loot and arson ..	125	—	—	—
31	Jassar	19-8-47	10	Murder, abduction and loot ..	40	E.F.N.A.	—	E.F.N.A.
32	Ahtulal	19-8-47	1	Murder, loot and arson ..	18	—	8	—
33	Janglora	20-8-47	2	Murder, loot and arson (aided by military and Muslim police).	5	—	—	—
34	Ikhlaspur	20-8-47	2	Murder, loot and arson ..	3	—	—	—
		20-8-47	2	Murder, loot and arson ..	10	—	—	—
35	Seer	20-8-47	} 3	Murder, abduction, general loot and arson (aided by M.L.N.G.)	80	20	—	20
36	Theli	21-8-47						
37	Shahzaida	20-8-47	8	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	900	50	—	125
38	Pindi Dunian ..	20-8-47	1	Arson, abduction, murder and loot.	2	—	—	2
39	Manga Bran ..	20-8-47	4	Murder, loot and arson ..	6	—	—	—

E.F.N.A.—Exact figures not available. M.L.N.G.—Muslim League National Guards.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Date	Number of witnesses	Nature of incident	Number of casualties		Number of converted	Number of kidnapped or abducted
					Killed	Injured		
40	Gari Bhura	20-8-47	3	Murder, loot and arson	4	—	—	1
41	Chak Kotla	20-8-47	1	Murder and loot	22	—	—	—
42	Doaba	21-8-47	1	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	18	—	—	2
43	Ban Bajwa	21-8-47	1	Murder, conversion, abduction, loot and arson.	E.F.N.A.	E.F.N.A.	150	1
44	Gulbahar	21-8-47	1	Murder, abduction and loot	13	40	—	E.F.N.A.
45	Amirshah	21-8-47	1	Murder, loot and arson	16	—	E.F.N.A.	—
46	Kushal Garh	21-8-47	1	Murder and loot	6	—	—	—
47	Bhyochak	21-8-47	1	Murder, loot and arson (aided by police and Muslim military).	11	—	—	7
48	Peerkot	22-8-47	2	Murder and loot	100	—	—	—
49	Mattanwala	22-8-47	1	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	150	E.F.N.A.	—	18
50	Bhatan Wala	22-8-47	2	Murder and loot	3	—	—	—
51	Nirgal	22-8-47	1	Murder, abduction and loot	2	—	—	1
52	Dhabliwala	22-8-47	1	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	Many	—	—	60
53	Chak Bika	22-8-47	1	Murder, loot and arson	E.F.N.A.	—	—	—
54	Gangran	23-8-47	3	General loot, arson and murder.	12	—	—	—
55	Randhawa	23-8-47	2	Murder, abduction and loot	10	—	—	9
56	Dhattal	23-8-47	1	Conversion, loot and arson	—	12	E.F.N.A.	—
57	Sankhatra	24-8-47	6	Murder, conversion, abduction, loot and arson.	30	E.F.N.A.	60	2
58	Dudwan	24-8-47	1	Murder, abduction and loot	3	—	—	2
59	Dhapai	24-8-47	3	Murder, abduction, conversion, general loot and arson.	300	Many	45	60
60	Bari	24-8-47	1	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	6	—	—	3

61	Kandansian ..	25-8-47	1	General loot, arson and conversion.	—	—	E.F.N.A.	—
62	Garmola	25-8-47	2	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	150	—	—	6
63	Beli	25-8-47	10	Murder, loot of property worth several lakhs.	40	—	—	—
64	Mundeke Berian ..	25-8-47	1	Murder, conversion and loot ..	5	—	50	—
65	Jangike	25-8-47	2	Murder and general loot ..	5	—	—	—
66	Dera Brahwan ..	25-8-47	1	Murder, abduction and loot ..	20	—	—	30
67	Jarwal	25-8-47	5	Murder and loot	E.F.N.A.	200	—	—
68	Qaimpur	25-8-47	2	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	20	—	—	3
69	Poong	25-8-47	1	Murder, abduction and loot ..	22	7	—	2
70	Mallah	25-8-47	5	Mass murder, abduction, conversion, loot and arson.	400	60	39	34
71	Gojra	26-8-47	4	Murder, conversion, abduction and loot.	22	Many	40	10
72	Charwah	26-8-47	1	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	55	1	—	2
73	Lala Aulakh ..	27-8-47	3	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	90/100	18/20	—	25
74	Bhureki	27-8-47	3	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	100	—	—	40
75	Wadala Sidhwan ..	28-8-47	1	Murder, conversion, abduction, loot and arson.	100	100	E.F.N.A.	20
76	Dhungi	28-8-47	1	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	22	—	—	7
77	Pura Nekka ..	28-8-47	3	Conversion and loot	—	—	150	—
78	Olkan	28-8-47	3	Murder, abduction and loot ..	80	20	—	—
79	Bharike	28-8-47	1	Murder, abduction and conversion.	200	—	E.F.N.A.	50
80	Habipur	28-8-47	8	Murder, abduction, conversion and loot.	350	E.F.N.A.	45	60
81	Lallia	28-8-47	1	Murder, abduction, loot and arson (aided by M.L.N.G.).	225	—	—	55
82	Throgh	28-8-47	1	Murder, loot and arson ..	25	100	—	—

E.F.N.A.—Exact figures not available.

M.L.N.G.—Muslim League National Guards.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Date	Number of witnesses	Nature of incident	Number of casualties		Number of converted	Number of kidnapped or abducted
					Killed	Injured		
83	Hubipur	28-8-47	2	Murder, conversion, abduction, loot and arson.	350	50	30	160
84	Phorpian	28-8-47	2	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	600	300	—	400
85	Dakki	28-8-47	9	Murder, abduction, arson and general loot.	160	70	—	100
86	Baddomali	29-8-47	1	Murder, conversion, abduction, loot and arson.	1,000	—	1,600	200
87	Ghug	30-8-47	2	Loot and arson	2	—	—	—
88	Jandran	31-8-47	1	Murder, conversion, abduction and loot.	20	—	E.F.N.A.	21
89	Lalewali	31-8-47	4	Murder and loot	15	—	—	—
90	Sadanwala	31-8-47	2	Murder, conversion, abduction and loot.	8	—	80	15
91	Shesian	1-9-47	3	General loot and wholesale arson.	—	—	—	—
92	Mihal	2-9-47	2	Murder, loot and arson ..	20	—	—	—
93	Sagar	2-9-47	2	Murder and loot	70	—	—	—
94	Mashrala	2-9-47	1	Murder, conversion, abduction and loot.	150	—	100	10
95	Dawood	2-9-47	1	Murder, abduction and loot ..	7	—	—	14
96	Chakarwala ..	3-9-47	1	Murder and loot (aided by Baluch military and Muslim police).	25	—	—	—
97	Hailbeywan ..	6-9-47	2	Murder and loot	14	—	—	—
98	Parthanwala ..	15-9-47	1	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	50	—	—	2
99	Kansharpur ..	18-9-47	6	Murder and loot	3	15	—	—
100	Kusharpur	18-9-47	5	Murder, conversion and loot ..	1	15	1 family	—

101	Naina Kot	19-9-47	1	Murder and loot	11	—	—	—
102	Sarangian	22-9-47	2	Murder and general loot ..	30	50	—	—
103	Mastpur Jattan ..	21-9-47	1	Murder, loot and arson ..	21	—	—	5
104	Thakarpur and Ganga Nahanga.	29-9-47	2	General loot and forcible conversion.	—	—	25	—
105	Machrala	29-9-47	8	Murder, abduction, loot and arson (bribery of Rs. 3,000).	158	80	—	10
106	Chagri	Sept. 1947	2	Murder, conversion and loot ..	8	—	E.F.N.A.	—
107	Balloke	—	1	Murder, loot and arson ..	5	—	—	—
108	Karola	22-11-47	3	Murder and loot	9	—	—	—
109	Pindi Panjara ..	Nov. 1947	1	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	123	—	—	6
110	Bhola Musa ..	Do.	5	Murder, conversion and loot ..	1	—	E.F.N.A.	—
111	Bhunga Nehanga ..	Do.	2	Murder and loot	13	—	—	—
112	Dalaki	Do.	1	Murder and loot. Loss of Rs. 20,00,000.	75	—	—	—
				Killed in Gurdwara (women and children).	500	—	—	—
113	Karola	Dec. 1947	1	Murder and loot	9	1	—	—
114	Khrota	Do.	10	Murder, abduction and loot ..	9	—	E.F.N.A.	2
115	Khokarwali ..	Do.	1	Murder, conversion and loot ..	100	—	E.F.N.A.	—
116	Ladhar	Do.	2	Murder, abduction and loot ..	33	—	—	16
117	Mian Hospal ..	Dec. 1947	1	Murder and loot (desecration of Gurdwaras).	100	—	—	—
118	Palar	Do.	1	Murder and loot	10	—	—	—
119	Ranwa	Do.	1	Murder, loot and arson ..	100	—	—	—
120	Sansian	Do.	1	Murder, conversion, general loot and arson.	6	—	40	—
121	Sangla Chak ..	Do.	1	Murder and loot (aided by police)	5	—	—	—
122	Sambrial	Do.	2	Murder, general loot and arson.	15	—	—	—
123	Solehpur	Do.	1	Murder and loot (aided by Muslim police).	25	—	—	—
124	Thorta	Do.	1	Murder and general loot ..	9	8	—	—

E.F.N.A.—Exact figures not available.

DISTRICT GUJRANWALA

Sl. No.	Name of village	Date	Number of witnesses	Nature of incident	Number of casualties		Number of converted	Number of kidnapped or abducted
					Killed	Injured		
1	Wayanwali (Gujranwala Camp).	16-8-47	5	Murder, loot, arson and food poisoning.	150	—	—	—
	Deodian (Gujranwala Camp).	10-9-47	5	Murder, loot, arson and food poisoning.	E.F.N.A.	—	—	—
2	Attal	16-8-47	3	Loot, arson, murder and desecration.	50	12	—	—
3	Ram Nagar ..	17-8-47	10	Murder, arson, conversion and desecration.	1	—	E.F.N.A.	—
4	Thata-Jat Mianwala.	Do.	2	Loot and evacuation (aided by police).	—	—	—	—
5	Karula	Do.	1	Murder, arson, conversion and desecration (aided by M.L.N.G., police and military).	150	—	100	—
6	Garmula	18-8-47	3	Murder, conversion and loot ..	120	5	40	—
7	Ghorian	Do.	2	Murder, abduction, conversion and loot.	10	—	17	5
8	Gilt Gitta	19-8-47	1	Murder, conversion and loot ..	35	18	9	5
9	Ajan Chak	19-8-47	1	Conversion and loot	—	—	150	—
		10-9-47		Murder, abduction and rape ..	20	—	—	20
10	Durgapur	20-8-47	2	Murder, conversion, loot, arson and abduction.	8	—	5	1
11	Mansoorwali ..	21-8-47	1	Murder, mass conversion and loot.	200	—	E.F.N.A.	—
12	Udhowali	Do.	1	Murder, conversion, arson, desecration and loot.	30	—	10	—
13	Buddo Ratta ..	Do.	2	Murder and loot (aided by military and police).	79	43	—	—

14	Patala Sham Singh.	21-8-47	2	Murder, conversion and loot ..	5	—	145	—
15	Jalal	Do.	2	Murder, abduction, mass conversion and loot.	17	—	83	7
16	Wazir-ke-Chatta ..	Do.	1	Mass conversion, murder and loot.	22	—	E.F.N.A.	—
17	Baladpur	22-8-47	1	Murder, arson, rape and loot ..	20	2	—	5
18	Hardo Deori ..	23-8-47	1	Murder, arson and loot	25	2	—	—
19	Chicharwali Kalan .	Do.	3	Murder and loot	19	—	—	—
20	Kuryala	Do.	11	Murder, burning alive, arson, conversion and loot.	50	—	150	—
21	Kehar Wali ..	Do.	1	Murder, abduction, conversion, desecration and loot.	250	—	770	200
22	Dandian Saloke ..	Do.	1	Murder, abduction, conversion, desecration and loot.	9	—	13	2
23	Chakrali	24-8-47	2	Murder and abduction	70	20	—	20
24	Babbar	Do.	11	Murder, burning alive, arson, conversion and loot.	24	3	249	7
25	Killa Didarsingh ..	Do.	2	Murder, arson, conversion and loot.	200	—	200	3
26	Deodhi	Do.	1	Murder, arson, conversion and loot (aided by police).	22	—	180	—
27	Dhinse	25-8-47	1	Murder, arson, conversion and loot (aided by police).	22	—	70	—
28	Kakekaula	26-8-47	1	Murder, conversion, arson and loot (aided by police).	30	—	12	—
29	Thata Chima ..	26-8-47	1	Murder, conversion and loot (aided by police).	200	—	135	—
30	Landewala Chima	27-8-47	2	Murder, abduction and loot ..	110	13	—	2
31	Chak Khalil ..	Do.	5	Murder and loot	23	—	—	—
32	Wazirabad (train incident).	28-8-47	1	Murder and loot	150	—	—	—
33	Mandal Chattak ..	Do.	1	Murder, conversion and loot (aided by M.L.N.G.)	43	—	43	—
34	Bhango	Do.	1	Murder and loot	7	2	—	
	Bhango (near Alipur Saidan).	Sept. 1947		Murder (aided by military) ..	1,000	—	—	—

E.F.N.A.—Exact figures not available.

M.L.N.G.—Muslim League National Guards.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Date	Number of witnesses	Nature of incident	Number of casualties		Number of converted	Number of kidnapped or abducted
					Killed	Injured		
35	Dharowal	28-8-47	1	Conversion and loot	—	—	125	—
36	Majhu Chak ..	29-8-47	1	Murder, loot, abduction and desecration.	150	—	—	22
37	Jaura Sian	30-8-47	1	Murder, abduction, conversion, arson, loot and desecration.	76	—	25	20
38	Gojargola	31-8-47	1	Mass conversion, murder and loot.	3	1	E.F.N.A.	—
39	Wazirke	Do.	9	Murder, conversion, loot and abduction.	26	—	200	4
40	Kot Nakka ..	Aug. 1947	1	Murder and loot	30	30	—	—
41	Chowdry Chak ..	Do.	5	Murder, desecration, rape and conversion.	27	—	11	1
42	Butla Jhanda ..	Do.	1	Forcible conversion	—	—	20	—
43	Hamidpur	Do.	3	Murder, conversion, loot and abduction.	26	1	7	1
44	Chak Purian ..	Aug. 1947	2	Murder and mass conversion ..	3	—	70	—
45	Chinne	Do.	1	Mass conversion (aided by military).	—	—	150	—
46	Sodhra	Do.	1	Murder, arson, conversion and desecration (aided by police).	150	—	100	—
47	Doresh	Do.	6	Murder, mass conversion, abduction and loot.	32	—	200	1
48	Bhudopur	Do.	3	Murder, mass conversion, loot and abduction.	12	—	40	1
49	Akbar Vikran ..	Do.	9	Murder, conversion, loot and desecration (aided by police).	96	—	100	—
50	Adulakh Bhai ..	Do.	2	Murder, conversion and loot ..	2	—	10	—

51	Kot Saadullah ..	2-9-47	1	Murder, arson, abduction and loot (aided by police).	50	—	—	11
52	Kalewale	10-9-47	4	Murder, mass conversion, arson and loot (aided by police).	5	—	300	3
53	Walikay Tador ..	Do.	2	Murder, mass conversion, abduction, rape and loot.	180	—	700	6
54	Kot Fatehwal ..	14-9-47	5	Murder, arson, conversion, and loot (aided by military and police).	25	—	12	—
55	Dhirowali	Sept. 1947	2	Murder, loot, arson, conversion, abduction and rape.	4	—	55	2
56	Hardeo	Do.	2	Murder and drowning	3	—	—	—
	Sansa Tada ..	Do.		Murder	80	50	—	—
	Mallah Vikran ..	Do.		Murder and loot (aided by military).	3	—	—	—
				DISTRICT GUJRAT				
1	Mangot	18-8-47	4	Murder, loot, desecration (aided by police).	32	E.F.N.A.	—	—
2	Panerewala ..	Do.	1	Murder, food poisoning, and loot (aided by military).	45	—	—	—
3	Dhoka Wada Lak	Do.	1	Mass conversion and loot ..	—	—	E.F.N.A.	—
4	Thakar Kalan ..	Do.	3	Murder, abduction, arson and loot.	E.F.N.A.	—	100	—
5	Nowshera Miana ..	Do.	1	Murder and loot (aided by military).	Large number	—	—	—
	Nizamabad.. ..	Do.	1	Murder, and train attack ..	700	200	200	—
6	Jalalpur Jattan ..	Do.	1	Murder, burning alive, desecration and loot (aided by military and police).	Large number	—	—	—
7	Jora	Do.	1	Conversion and loot	1	—	E.F.N.A.	—
8	Ajjowal	Do.	1	Murder, conversion, and loot (aided by military).	7	—	193	—
9	Fatehpur	Do.	1	Conversion and loot	5	—	45	—
10	Higgarwala.. ..	19-8-47	3	Loot	—	6	—	—
11	Sohbitian	Do.	1	Murder, loot and arson ..	3	—	—	—

E.F.N.A.—Exact figures not available.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Date	Number of witnesses	Nature of incident	Number of casualties		Number of converted	Number of kidnapped or abducted
					Killed	Injured		
12	Seera	20-8-47	7	Murder, food poisoning, conversion, desecration and loot.	5	—	E.F.N.A.	—
13	Ratto	22-8-47	1	Conversion and loot	—	—	18	—
14	Heggarkurd ..	Do.	1	Murder, food poisoning, arson and loot.	Large number	—	—	—
15	Bhagowal	23-8-47	1	Murder, conversion, loot and desecration.	1	1	170	—
16	Tanda	25-8-47	3	Murder, abduction, arson and loot.	E.F.N.A.	—	—	100
17	Chak No. 21 ..	26-8-47	2	Conversion and loot	—	—	105	—
18	Shadiwal	27-8-47	1	Murder, abduction and loot ..	53	—	—	12
19	Wasu	Do.	3	Loot	—	—	—	—
20	Bhairowal	29-8-47	4	Murder, abduction and mass conversion.	1,400	—	E.F.N.A.	100
21	Lassuri Kalan ..	Do.	2	Loot	—	—	—	—
22	Mian Gondal ..	30-8-47	1	Mass conversion	—	—	1,000	—
23	Musa Khurd ..	Do.	7	Murder, loot and desecration ..	70	—	—	—
24	Jajur	Do.	3	Murder and mass conversion ..	1	—	299	—
25	Rerka	Do.	3	Conversion	—	—	1,000	—
26	Tahali Sahib ..	Aug. 1947	2	Murder, loot and arson ..	6	—	—	—
27	Thatta Par	Do.	1	Mass conversion and loot ..	—	—	E.F.N.A.	—
28	Malakpur	Do.	10	Murder, abduction and loot ..	60	—	—	4
29	Ran	Do.	3	Murder, conversion, loot and abduction.	1	—	98	1
30	Gorhi	Do.	5	Conversion and loot	—	—	170	—
31	Bahaudin	1-9-47	4	Murder, loot, arson and desecration (aided by police).	500	—	60	—
32	Jassowal	2-9-47	1	Conversion and loot	—	—	300	—

33	Qadarbad	Do.	2	Murder, abduction, rape and loot.	27	200	—	17
34	Saidulla	4-9-47	2	Murder	15	—	—	—
35	Dinga	5-9-47	4	Murder, food poisoning and abduction.	Large number	—	—	400
36	Malikpur	Do.	3	Murder and loot (aided by police)	25	5	—	—
37	Hassanwali ..	Do.	2	Mass conversion and loot ..	—	—	500	—
38	Bagrianwala ..	Do.	1	Conversion, murder, arson and loot.	75	—	100	—
39	Chak No. 2 ..	6-9-47	3	Murder, conversion, abduction and loot.	40	—	750	2
40	Chachian	7-9-47	3	Murder, desecration and conversion.	1	—	48	—
41	Chak Sada ..	8-9-47	2	Murder and conversion ..	2	—	E.F.N.A.	—
42	Shahdra	14-9-47	3	Murder (aided by military) ..	5	6	—	—
43	Nadhir	18-9-47	5	Murder, conversion and loot ..	4	—	125	—
44	Chak Raib ..	Oct./Nov. 1947	3	Murder, desecration, conversion and loot.	1	—	E.F.N.A.	—

DISTRICT MONTGOMERY

1	Diptianwala ..	15-8-47	1	Murder and loot (aided by M.L.N.G., police and military).	18	—	—	—
2	Qila Sonda Singh ..	16-8-47	5	Murder, arson and loot ..	61	—	—	—
3	Huzrashah Mukim	17-8-47	1	Murder and loot	Many	—	—	—
4	Chak No. 33/1 A.L.	18-8-47	2	Murder and loot	15	—	—	—
5	Jandarkar	Do.	1	Murder, arson, mass conversion, desecration, loot and abduction.	1	—	2,500	2
6	Noor Shah ..	19-8-47	5	Murder and loot	125	—	—	—
7	Dipalpur City ..	Do.	1	Murder and loot (aided by police and Tehsildar).	15	—	—	—
8	Renala Khurd ..	20-8-47	8	Murder and loot (aided by Baluch military).	60	—	—	—
9	Basidpur	21-8-47	1	Murder, abduction and loot (aided by police and military).	Large number	—	—	10

E.F.N.A.—Exact figures not available.

M.L.N.G.—Muslim League National Guards.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Date	Number of witnesses	Nature of incident	Number of casualties		Number of converted	Number of kidnapped or abducted
					Killed	Injured		
10	Wazirpur	21-8-47	10	Murder, loot and abduction (aided by police and military).	300	—	—	50
11	Chak No. 37/9 L. . .	22-8-47	1	Murder and loot	7	—	—	—
12	Beli Gunj	Do.	1	Murder and loot	10	20	—	—
13	Chak No. 53-SB. ..	Do.	1	Murder and loot (aided by M.L.N.G. and police).	2	—	—	—
14	Mauza Mirdad Maufi.	Do.	1	Murder and loot	32	—	—	—
15	Malka Hans ..	Do.	1	Murder, arson, conversion and abduction.	15	—	40 families	20
16	Chichawatni ..	22-8-47	1	Murder, abduction and loot (aided by police).	200	—	—	2
17	Chak No. 116/9-L . .	23-8-47	7	Murder and loot	30	—	—	—
18	Chak No. 11 ..	Do.	2	Murder and loot	5	1	—	—
19	Kumbhariwala ..	24-8-47	5	Murder, mass conversion, loot abduction and desecration.	50	—	E.F.N.A.	15
20	Kanda	25-8-47	2	Murder, mass conversion, loot and abduction.	9	E.F.N.A.	Do.	2
21	Ambli Moti ..	26-8-47	6	Murder, loot and mass conversion.	28	—	Do.	—
22	Chak No. 105 ..	Do.	2	Murder and loot (aided by police and military).	Large number			
23	Chak No. 39/14L . .	26-8-47	1	Loot, murder and arson	52	15	—	—
24	Chak No. 70/5L ..	28-8-47	5	Loot	—	—	—	—
25	Chak No. 47/5-L . .	Do.	1	Murder, abduction, conversion and loot (aided by military).	Large number	—	60	70
26	Boladuba	30-8-47	4	Murder and abduction	33	—	—	5
27	Chak No. 60/12-L. .	Aug. 1947	3	Murder and loot	6	—	—	—

DISTRICT LYALLPUR

1	Chak No. 224 ..	17-8-47	2	Murder, and arrest of leaders (aided by police).	48	100	—	—
2	Parel	20-8-47	1	Murder, abduction and loot ..	5	—	—	4
3	Chak No. 189 ..	Do.	5	Murder	5	—	—	—
	Ibhan	Do.	5	Murder	100	—	—	—
4	Dhaulri	21-8-47	10	Murder, abduction, loot and mass conversion.	83	—	200	E.F.N.A.
5	Chak No. 127 ..	22-8-47	12	Murder, abduction and loot ..	200	50	—	15
6	Gangapur	23-8-47	3	Murder and loot	400	—	—	—
	Chak No. 58 ..	Do.	3	Murder, loot and abduction ..	2,000	E.F.N.A.	—	800
7	Khila Kalan ..	28-8-47	6	Murder, loot and arrest of leaders (aided by Muslim League National Guards and military).	106	43	—	—
8	Bhuller	29-8-47	3	Murder, arson, loot and rape ..	300	250	—	Abduction 15
	Gujjersinghwala ..	Aug. 1947	3	Murder (aided by military) ..	12	5	—	rape 20
9	Chak No. 362 ..	31-8-47	7	Murder, loot and abduction ..	60	10	—	7
10	Chak No. 53 J.B. ..	Aug. 1947	4	Murder and loot	1		—	—
	Louki	Do.	4	Murder	80		—	—
11	Chak No. 518 ..	2-9-47	3	Murder and loot	10		—	—
12	Chak No. 50 ..	3-9-47	2	Murder and loot	6	2	—	—
13	Attarwali	4-9-47	2	Murder and loot	14	—	—	—
14	Mamakanjar ..	5-9-47	2	Murder, abduction, rape, desecration and arson.	175	125	—	Abduction 20 Rape 20
15	Chak No. 447 ..	8-9-47	6	Murder and loot	20	—	—	—
16	Chak No. 29 ..	12-9-47	4	Murder and loot	60	7	—	—
17	Chak No. 58 ..	2-10-47	5	Murder, abduction and loot ..	500	300	—	300
18	Gangapur	—	4	Murder, loot, arson, rape and abduction.	50	150	—	14
19	Chak No. 294 ..	—	4	Murder, loot and abduction ..	10	—	—	E.F.N.A.
20	Chak No. 297 J.B.	—	2	Murder and loot	9	—	—	—

E.F.N.A.—Exact figures not available.

M.L.N.G.—Muslim League National Guards.

DISTRICT SHAHPORE

Sl. No.	Name of village	Date	Number of witnesses	Nature of incident	Number of casualties		Number of converted	Number of kidnapped or abducted
					Killed	Injured		
1	Dera Murad ..	15-8-47	1	Forcible conversion	—	—	E.F.N.A.	—
2	Lak	16-8-47	2	Rape, conversion and loot ..	—	—	Do.	E.F.N.A.
3	Chak Misra ..	19-8-47	1	Murder and loot	4	—	—	—
4	Ranjha	20-8-47	1	Roasting of children	3	—	—	—
5	Mian Kot	23-8-47	2	Conversion (by military) ..	—	—	40	—
6	Chawa	24-8-47	2	Conversion and loot	—	—	45	—
7	Nali	25-8-47	3	Conversion and loot	—	—	30 families	—
8	Chaus Mohd. Wala	26-8-47	4	Conversion and evacuation ..	—	—	9	—
9	Nur Pur	Do.	12	Abduction and murder (aided by police).	—	—	9	—
10	Gurna Patana ..	28-8-47	2	Loot	—	—	—	—
11	Lila Hani	29-8-47	9	Conversion, murder and loot (police involved).	—	9	120	—
12	Doda	Do.	8	Conversion and loot (aided by police).	—	—	E.F.N.A.	—
13	Chak No. 120 S.B.	31-8-47	1	Murder and loot	E.F.N.A.	—	—	—
14	Takhat Hazara ..	Do.	15	Murder, conversion and desecration.	4	—	22	—
	Mian Hazara ..	Do.	15	Conversion	—	—	E.F.N.A.	—
15	Homoka	Aug. 1947	1	Loot and conversion	—	—	4	—
16	Chak Gandewala ..	Do.	4	Conversion and loot	—	—	E.F.N.A.	—
17	Chak No. 87 ..	Do.	5	Murder and conversion (aided by police).	1	—	Do.	—
18	Kot Moman ..	Do.	2	Murder and conversion (aided by police).	8	—	60	—

19	Chak No. 23 ..	Do.	3	Murder, conversion and loot ..	1	—	E.F.N.A.	—
20	Kai Kalyan ..	1-9-47	1	Conversion and loot	—	—	Do.	—
21	Kupri	Do.	2	Desecration and loot	—	—	—	—
22	Jallap	Do.	1	Murder, conversion and loot ..	E.F.N.A.	—	35	—
23	Mid Ranja ..	3-9-47	5	Conversion and loot (aided by police and military).	—	—	E.F.N.A.	—
24	Chikrala	5-9-47	1	Loot (aided by police)	—	—	—	—
25	Adhikot	6-9-47	8	Murder, abduction and loot ..	16	—	E.F.N.A.	11
26	Bab Rani	Do.	2	Murder and conversion ..	3	—	Do.	—
27	Khizarabad ..	Do.	3	Murder, conversion and loot ..	36	—	30	—
28	Jabi	Do.	1	Murder and arson	1	—	—	—
29	Chak No. 51 ..	7-9-47	1	Murder and conversion	2	—	E.F.N.A.	—
30	Langarwala ..	Do.	3	Conversion	—	—	Do.	—
31	Khanpur Wadhre ..	8-9-47	1	Rape and conversion	—	—	Do.	E.F.N.A.
32	Girot	10-9-47	6	Murder and loot	5	21	—	—
	Malakwal (train attack).	Do.	6	Murder and loot	2	—	—	—
33	Fatehbad	Do.	3	Loot and conversion	—	—	E.F.N.A.	—
34	Jalwal	Do.	4	Murder, kidnapping and conversion.	10	—	Do.	5
35	Tantiwala	16-9-47	1	Murder and loot	10	—	—	—
36	Choha	18-9-47	3	Conversion and loot	—	—	E.F.N.A.	—
37	Golewala	24-9-47	3	Conversion and loot	—	—	160	—
38	Kotla Sachdan Wala	25-9-47	2	Conversion and loot	—	—	E.F.N.A.	—
39	Faruka	—	5	Murder and loot	8	—	—	—
40	Haveli Mothiram ..	—	1	Murder and conversion	90	—	E.F.N.A.	—
41	Chak No. 8-A ..	—	3	Loot and conversion	—	—	Do.	—
42	Rangpur	—	5	Desecration and loot	—	—	—	—
43	Salaam	—	2	Murder, conversion and loot ..	1	—	E.F.N.A.	—
44	Warcha Mandi ..	—	2	Desecration, conversion and loot.	—	—	Do.	—
45	Wirkanwaii ..	—	5	Conversion and loot (aided by police).	—	—	Do.	—
46	Chak No. 49 ..	—	2	Murder, conversion and loot ..	E.F.N.A.	—	Do.	—

E.F.N.A.—Exact figures not available.

DISTRICT JHANG

Sl. No.	Name of village	Date	Number of witnesses	Nature of incident	Number of casualties		Number of converted	Number of kidnapped or abducted
					Killed	Injured		
1	Rampur	22-8-47	3	Murder, loot and abduction ..	300	—	—	20
2	Chhatta Baksha ..	24-8-47	4	Murder, loot, abduction and mass conversion.	30	25	180	7
3	Girmala	25-8-47	1	Murder, abduction and loot ..	100	—	—	6
4	Waryam	26-8-47	3	Murder, abduction, mass conversion and loot.	1	—	72	4
5	Nikka Daulatana ..	Do.	4	Murder, abduction and loot (aided by police).	125	—	E.F.N.A.	25
6	Kot Shakir ..	Do.	10	Murder and burning	21	—	Do.	—
7	Khekwa	Do.	4	Mass conversion and loot ..	—	—	Do.	—
8	Kot Khera	Do.	3	Murder, abduction and loot ..	114	—	—	36
9	Satiana	Do.	1	Murder, mass conversion and abduction.	3	—	Do.	48
10	Basti Makkaram ..	27-8-47	2	Murder, loot, conversion and abduction.	3	—	Do.	3
11	Pir Abdul Rehman	Do.	1	Mass conversion	—	—	Do.	—
12	Mauza Kabli ..	Do.	1	Mass conversion	—	—	500	—
13	Kot Khan	Do.	2	Mass conversion and loot ..	—	—	150	—
14	Basti Makkaranwali	Do.	2	Murder, loot and abduction ..	3	—	—	4
15	Dharopa	Do.	8	Murder, loot, arson and mass conversion.	E.F.N.A.	—	1,200	40
16	Hassowali	27/28-8-47	3	Murder, abduction, loot and mass conversion.	148	—	E.F.N.A.	30
17	Ghuman	27-8-47	4	Murder, loot, arson and abduction.	25	—	—	5
18	Nithoke	Do.	4	Murder, loot and abduction (aided by police).	15	—	—	6

19	Sewa	28-8-47	1	Murder, loot, conversion and desecration.	40	35	15	—
20	Ahmedpur Sial ..	Do.	2	Murder, loot and mass conversion.	50	—	E.F.N.A.	—
21	Chah Pahwanwala	Do.	2	Murder, loot and arson	45	—	—	—
22	Kakki Nau ..	Do.	1	Mass conversion and loot ..	—	—	15,000	—
23	Kallur	29-8-47	1	Murder, loot and mass conversion.	2	—	70	—
24	Mangan	Do.	3	Murder, conversion, loot and arson.	23	—	100	—
25	Mari Shah Sakhira.	Aug. 1947	3	Murder, loot and arson ..	12	—	—	—
26	Harsu Sheikh ..	—	4	Murder, loot, arson and conversion.	16	—	90	—

DISTRICT MULTAN

1	Jahan Pur	15-8-47	1	Murder, conversion, loot and arson.	40	—	E.F.N.A.	—
2	Chak No. 117 ..	17/18-8-47	3	Murder and loot	20	—	—	—
3	Daivran	18-8-47	5	Murder, loot, conversion and arson.	3	18	E.F.N.A.	—
4	Chak No. 509 ..	25-8-47	3	Murder, loot and arson aided by police.	500	—	—	E.F.N.A.
5	Aulaksandu ..	25-8-47	2	Murder and arson	6	—	—	—
	Arjaniwala ..	26-8-47		Murder, loot and conversion ..	E.F.N.A.	—	E.F.N.A.	—
6	Amirpur Siddat ..	27-8-47	7	Murder, loot, arson and conversion.	125	50	E.F.N.A.	—
7	Mira Mallah ..	27/28-8-47	3	Murder, loot and arson ..	45	—	—	—
8	Bhawal Garh ..	27-8-47	17	Murder, loot and conversion ..	300	—	E.F.N.A.	—
9	Bharnot	28-8-47	4	Murder, loot and arson ..	9	—	E.F.N.A.	—
10	Fateh Pur	30-8-47	2	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	15	—	E.F.N.A.	5
11	Jhalar Lakhar Singh.	30-8-47	4	Murder, loot and conversion ..	10	E.F.N.A.	Do.	—
12	Khan Bhela ..	31-8-47	19	Murder, abduction and loot ..	150	—	—	75
13	Ladha	31-8-47	2	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	E.F.N.A.	—	—	40
14	Lodhran	31-8-47	1	Loot and abduction	—	—	—	1

E.F.N.A.—Exact figures not available.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Date	Number of witnesses	Nature of incident	Number of casualties		Number of converted	Number of kidnapped or abducted
					Killed	Injured		
15	Mohal Siai ..	31-8-47	1	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	Large number	—	—	22
16	Berwala	Aug. 1947	1	Murder, conversion and loot ..	35	—	70	—
17	Kajjiwala	Do.	2	Burnt alive and abduction ..	105	—	—	15
18	Telok Pur	Do.	7	Murder, conversion, abduction and loot (aided by Baluch military).	105	—	E.F.N.A.	E.F.N.A.
19	Ghazipur	1-9-47	1	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	160	—	—	—
20	Shahpur	2-9-47	3	Murder and loot	5	—	—	—
21	Kabir Wala (train attack)	3-9-47	1	Murder, abduction and loot ..	34	—	—	6
22	Qitta Jhumarmal-wala.	3-9-47	2	Murder and loot	9	—	—	—
23	Faquirwala ..	3-9-47	4	Murder, loot and arson ..	7	11	—	—
24	Kassi Kundan Mal	4-9-47	2	Murder and loot	E.F.N.A.	—	—	—
25	Chak No. 67 ..	10-9-47	1	Murder, abduction, loot and arson (aided by M.L.N.G.).	35	—	—	—
26	Chak No. 7/8 Karmali.	25-9-47	3	Murder, loot and arson ..	7	E.F.N.A.	—	—
27	Chak No. 104 ..	26-9-47	2	Murder, loot and arson (aided by Muslim military).	45	E.F.N.A.	—	—
28	Talamba	27-9-47	4	Murder, loot (aided by Muslim military and police).	12	—	—	—

DISTRICT MUZAFFARGARH

1	Chand-di-Wasti ..	15-8-47	1	Murder, burning alive, arson loot and conversion.	87	27	53	13
2	Koti	Do.	1	Murder and loot	20	E.F.N.A.	—	E.F.N.A.
3	Gobindpura ..	17-8-47	1	Murder, burning alive and arson.	200	Do.	—	Do.
4	Sirke	22-8-47	1	Conversion and loot	—	50	20	Do.
5	Bakiana	24-8-47	1	Murder, burning alive, arson and loot.	100	E.F.N.A.	—	Do.
6	Nachank and Dhade Dal.	Do.	1	Murder and mass conversion (aided by military).	62	—	148	Do.
7	Jalal Kurai ..	25-8-47	1	Murder, kidnapping and loot ..	Many	—	—	100
8	Buchiwala	27-8-47	1	Murder and loot.	E.F.N.A.	25	—	—
9	Wasti Sujan Singh..	29-8-47	1	Mass murder, arson and loot (aided by military).	100	—	—	—
10	Bet Duami ..	1-9-47	2	Conversion and loot	—	—	50	—
11	Patti Jhanda ..	2-9-47	2	Murder and loot (aided by police)	6	—	—	—
12	Chah Mathianwala	3-9-47	5	Murder, mass conversion and loot.	7	—	43	—
13	Chah Kuara ..	Do.	5	Murder and conversion (aided by police).	7	—	43	—
14	Nasheb Karor ..	4-9-47	4	Murder	130	—	—	—
15	Tibbi Khurd ..	Do.	4	Murder and loot	30	3	—	—
16	Jharkal	Do.	4	Murder, conversion and loot ..	10	2	E.F.N.A.	—
17	Shinwala	5-9-47	4	Murder, conversion and loot ..	Many	—	E.F.N.A.	—
18	Wadhewali ..	Do.	4	Mass conversion and loot ..	—	—	50	—
19	Khotan	5-9-47 10-9-47	1	Loot and mass conversion ..	—	—	E.F.N.A.	—
				Murder and loot	15	—	—	—
20	Langewala	5-9-47	2	Murder, kidnapping, conversion and loot.	120	—	4	2
21	Mauza Shinwala ..	Do.	4	Murder, mass conversion and loot.	70	—	70	—
22	Mahra	6-9-47	5	Murder, mass conversion and loot.	6	25	770	—
23	Gangian	6-9-47 8-9-47	3	Mass conversion	—	—	100	—
				Murder, abduction and loot ..	15	—	—	E.F.N.A.
24	Sabri Dewan ..	6-9-47	1	Murder, abduction, arson, conversion and loot.	125	1	20	30

E.F.N.A.—Exact figures not available.

M.L.N.G.—Muslim League National Guards.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Date	Number of witnesses	Nature of incident	Number of casualties		Number of converted	Number of kidnapped or abducted
					Killed	Injured		
25	Mochi Wala ..	6-9-47	4	Murder, kidnapping, arson and loot.	85	—	50	—
26	Shah Mara ..	Do.	3	Murder, mass conversion and loot.	5	—	E.F.N.A.	—
27	Nanduwala.. ..	Do.	3	Murder, loot, arson and abduction (aided by police).	107	8	—	25
28	Chak Maulvi ..	7-9-47	4	Murder, burning alive, loot, arson, conversion and rape.	20	—	110	20
29	Kharak	Do.	4	Murder, mass conversion and loot.	12	—	74	—
30	Shariff Chajra ..	Do.	2	Murder, abduction, loot and arson.	1	—	45	—
31	Umarpur	Do.	1	Murder, conversion, arson and loot.	2	—	148	—
32	Serin Dewanwali ..	8-9-47	1	Murder, conversion, loot and abduction.	45	—	80	25
33	Khan Garh ..	Do.	5	Murder, conversion and loot ..	18	4	5	—
34	Nach ke Basti ..	9-9-47	1	Murder, mass conversion and loot.	60	—	140	—
35	Isanwali	Do.	1	Murder, conversion and loot ..	70	—	130	—
36	Sabuwala	13-9-47	11	Murder, rape and loot	3	—	12	—
37	Ghazi Ghat ..	14-9-47	6	Murder, abduction, arson, desecration and loot.	400	—	—	70
38	Nurewala	Sept. 1947	4	Murder and loot	10	—	—	—
39	Khokarewala ..	Do.	1	Murder, abduction and loot ..	150	—	—	17
40	Bukharian	Do.	3	Murder, abduction, rape, arson and loot.	480	—	—	4

41	Budh	Do.	2	Murder, burning alive and mass conversion.	5	—	395	—
42	Basti Sewa Singh ..	9-10-47	9	Murder, arson, desecration and loot.	6	4	—	—
43	Basti Chah Yerwala.	Do.	9	Murder, abduction, conversion, loot and desecration.	22	—	24	17
44	Paharpur	13-10-47	8	Murder, conversion and loot ..	3	10	20	—
45	Sikhan-di-Basti and Sanwan.	—	2	Murder, abduction and conversion, aided by military.	Large number			
			2	Murder, abduction and loot ..	216	—	—	20

DISTRICT RAWALPINDI

1	Dhok Ratta ..	6-3-47 to 7-3-47	8	Murder and loot assisted by police.	20	—	—	—
2	Tanch Batta ..	6-3-47	4	Murder, rape, arson, with police help.	18	—	—	—
3	Keeka Khurd ..	7-3-47	1	Burning, looting and murder ..	A few	—	—	—
4	Dhamial	7-3-47 to 8-3-47	2	Murder, loot and arson ..	E.F.N.A.	—	—	—
5	Rawel	7-3-47	2	Murder, loot and arson ..	1	—	—	—
6	Wani	7-3-47	2	Murder and loot	3	—	—	—
7	Bunda	7-3-47 to 8-3-47	4	Murder, loot and conversion ..	13	—	2	—
8	Taxilla	7-3-47	3	Arson, loot and rape	—	—	—	One rape case.
9	Mogul	7-3-47	4	Murder, loot and abduction ..	140	—	20	16
10	Basali	8-3-47	4	Murder, loot, arson and conversion.	52	—	100	—
11	Sagri	8-3-47	4	Loot and murder	E.F.N.A.	—	—	—
12	Kuri	8-3-47	6	Murder, loot, abduction and conversion.	50	—	Many	2
13	Addiyala	9-3-47	2	Murder, arson and loot	12	—	—	—
14	Harnaul	9-3-47	3	Murder and conversion ..	13	—	1	—
15	Bhagpur	10-3-47	2	Murder, conversion and abduction.	34	—	1	1
16	Machhia	10-3-47 to 11-3-47	4	Murder, conversion and abduction.	6	—	70	8

E.F.N.A.—Exact figures not available.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Date	Number of witnesses	Nature of incident	Number of casualties		Number of converted	Number of kidnapped or abducted
					Killed	Injured		
17	Kauntrila	11-3-47	5	Murder, conversion and abduction.	3	—	20	13
18	Sayed Kasran ..	11-3-47	13	Murder, conversion and abduction.	16	—	14	2
19	Choha Khalsa ..	12-3-47	6	Murder, loot and conversion ..	175	—	85	1
20	Baner Kaswal ..	14-3-47	1	Murder and conversion	10	—	7	—
21	Looni	Mid March 1947	3	Murder, loot and conversion ..	10	—	3	—

In the villages of Baghar, Belhar, Hathla, Panjar, Panjora, Khandol, etc., mass conversions took place.

DISTRICT JHELUM

1	Bhagwal	Aug. 1947	3	Loot	—	—	—	—
2	Kandwal	Do.	3	Conversion and loot	—	—	E.F.N.A.	—
3	Khurd	Do.	1	Loot	—	—	—	—
4	Katas Raj	18-8-47	1	Murder, desecration and loot ..	6	—	—	—
5	Pran	19-8-47	1	Murder, kidnapping and loot ..	2	—	—	2
6	Sanghoi	22-8-47	3	Murder, arson and loot ..	32	E.F.N.A.	—	—
7	Kala Gujran ..	25-8-47	1	Murder and loot	2	—	—	—
8	Dalmola	28-8-47	1	Murder and loot	10	—	—	—
9	Pind..	1-9-47	1	Loot	—	—	—	—
10	Rohtas	3-9-47	4	Murder, kidnapping and loot ..	100	150	—	E.F.N.A.
11	Dalwal	4-9-47	6	Murder, kidnapping and loot ..	17	—	—	5
12	Sadhwal	5-9-47	1	Murder and loot	3	—	—	—
13	Drab	10-9-47	1	Murder, loot and kidnapping ..	1	—	—	1
14	Wagh	11-9-47	1	Murder, arson and loot ..	E.F.N.A.			

DISTRICT MIANWALI

1	Gokul	3-8-47	4	Murder, loot, abduction and arson.	10	—	—	2
2	Chah Lachman and Singh Wala.	21-8-47	5	Mass conversion, loot and desecration.	—	—	75	
3	Bhari	29-8-47	1	Mass conversion	—	—	40	
4	Shah Khel	2-9-47	3	Murder, conversion and loot (by military and police).	20	—	35	.. —
5	Isakhel	Do.	2	Mass conversion, arson and loot (aided by police and military).	19	—	E.F.N.A.	—
6	Dhor Nakka ..	Do.	5	Murder, loot and arson ..	5	—	—	—
7	Kalur	2-9-47	3	Mass conversion and loot ..	—	—	75	—
8	Saitan Khel and Mela Khel.	Do.	3	Mass conversion and loot ..	—	—	15	—
9	Kellur Kot ..	4-9-47	1	Murder and abduction (aided by police).	80	—	—	E.F.N.A.
10	Piplan R.S... ..	Do.	1	Murder and abduction	500	200	—	Do.
11	Abwali R.S. ..	Do.	1	Murder and abduction	200	—	—	Do.
12	Chikrala	Do.	1	Murder, loot, abduction and conversion.	25	—	1	4
13	Deli Namdar ..	5-9-47	2	Murder, burning alive and loot..	E.F.N.A.	—	—	—
14	Kanjar	Do.	5	Murder, loot, conversion and abduction.	16	20	E.F.N.A.	16
15	Darya Khan Camp.	5-10-47	5	Murder, conversion, abduction, and loot.	Large number	—	500	Many
16	Nava Jhandanwala	5-9-47	3	Murder, loot, mass conversion and desecration.	32	25	2,500	—
17	Panj Girian ..	Do.	11	Murder, mass conversion, loot and abduction (aided by military).	200	—	1,500	25
18	Jandawala	6-9-47	3	Murder, arson, loot and conversion.	23	—	E.F.N.A.	—
19	Ghulama	Do.	1	Mass conversion and loot ..	—	—	Do.	—
20	Gohar Wala ..	7-9-47	11	Murder, burning alive, arson, loot and abduction.	62	—	—	13
21	Bhakkar	8-9-47	4	Murder, abduction and loot ..	250	—	—	10

E.F.N.A.—Exact figures not available.

R.S.—Railway station.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Date	Number of witnesses	Nature of incident	Number of casualties		Number of converted	Number of kidnapped or abducted
					Killed	Injured		
22	Kala Bagh	19-9-47	2	Murder and conversion (aided by military).	10	20	10	—
23	Kot Keri	3-9-47	3	Murder and loot	6	5	—	—
		25-9-47		Murder (aided by police and Baluch military).	200	50	—	40
				DISTRICT DERA GHAZI KHAN				
1	Choti	15-8-47	2	Murder, loot and mass conversion.	15	—	985	—
2	Khanpur	25-8-47	2	Murder, arson, mass conversion and loot.	5	—	100	—
3	Qayamwala ..	29-8-47	5	Murder, mass conversion and loot.	E.F.N.A.	—	E.F.N.A.	—
4	Chote Bala ..	Do.	2	Murder, loot, burning alive, arson, rape and mass conversion.	32	11	Do.	—
5	That Gabolan ..	30-8-47	5	Murder, loot and conversion ..	2	—	48	
6	Basti Mariwala ..	Do.	3	Murder, loot and abduction ..	9	50	—	1
7	Choti Ziran ..	Do.	8	Murder, loot and abduction ..	3	5	—	5
8	Sikhaniwala ..	Do.	2	Arson, abduction and loot ..	—	30	—	15
9	Alliwala	31-8-47	5	Murder, conversion, arson and loot.	8	—	3	—
10	Lasheta	Do.	2	Murder, arson, abduction, loot and mass conversion.	18	10	293	24
11	Dastiwala	Do.	2	Murder, abduction, conversion and loot.	1	3	15	1
12	Basti Mallana ..	Do.	7	Murder, loot and arson ..	6	2	—	—

13	Sheru Basti ..	Do.	3	Murder, arson, abduction, mass conversion and loot.	18	4	260	28
14	Basti Sakhi Sarwar	Do.	1	Murder, abduction, rape and loot.	40	21	—	E.F.N.A.
15	Rakar	1-9-47	5	Murder, mass conversion and loot.	2	—	198	—
16	Shakhani	1-9-47 / 3-9-47	5	Murder, arson and loot (aided by police).	2	6	—	—
17	Basti Kalewali ..	1-9-47	5	Murder, arson, loot and conversion.	13	E.F.N.A.	13	—
18	Basti Ahmedani ..	Do.	4	Murder, arson, desecration, mass conversion and loot.	8	7	1,900	1
19	Malkani Kalan ..	Do.	5	Murder, loot and mass conversion.	3	E.F.N.A.	95	—
20	Basti Jhoke Utra ..	Do.	6	Murder, arson, mass conversion abduction and loot.	7	17	500	7
21	Lutkani	Do.	3	Murder, loot and conversion ..	8	7	1	—
22	Shankarpura ..	Do.	9	Murder, loot, abduction, rape, mass conversion and arson.	5	20	2,000	8
23	Chah Bhanuwala ..	2-9-47	2	Murder, loot and mass conversion.	6	—	E.F.N.A.	—
24	Mahrewala ..	Do.	5	Murder, abduction, loot and mass conversion.	E.F.N.A.	16	Do.	5
25	Notak Mahamin ..	3-9-47	4	Murder, loot and mass conversion.	7	—	43	—
26	Saukar ..	3-9-47 / 13-9-47	1	Murder, loot, arson and conversion (aided by Sub-Inspector of police).	5	—	E.F.N.A.	—
27	Numberdar Shamali	9-9-47	9	Murder, loot and arson ..	2	—	—	—
28	Kotla Mughlan ..	12-9-47	2	Forcible mass conversion, rape and loot.	—	—	E.F.N.A.	E.F.N.A.
	Jhog Utra	12-9-47	2	Murder, loot and mass conversion.	200	—	800	—
29	Kot Garh	Sept. 1947	4	Murder, arson, conversion and loot (aided by police).	10	—	8	—
30	Mahtam	1-12-47	6	Murder, abduction, loot and mass conversion.	11	20	E.F.N.A.	1

E.F.N.A.—Exact figures not available.

BAHAWALPUR STATE

Sl. No.	Name of village	Date	Number of witnesses	Nature of incident	Number of casualties		Number of converted	Number of kidnapped or abducted
					Killed	Injured		
1	Tawakal	Mid Aug.	3	Loot and conversion	—	—	90	—
2	Hazariwala ..	Do.	2	Murder, loot and conversion ..	3	—	70	—
3	Gudpura	Do.	4	Murder, loot and conversion ..	5	—	150	—
4	Chak No. 88 ..	Do.	3	Murder and abduction	44	—	—	All the girls of the village abducted
5	Chak Bhura Mal ..	Do.	5	Murder, loot, conversion and abduction.	40	—	40	10
6	Chak Nihala Mal ..	Do.	5	Do.				
7	Boonga	Do.	6	Murder, loot and abduction ..	6	8	—	2
8	Lal Suhara ..	Do.	6		34	—	—	—
9	Tajeka	19-8-47	4	Murder and loot	8	1	1	—
10	Kharal	20-8-47	2	Murder, loot and abduction ..	20	1	50	11 male children and 21 young women.
11	Lal Dera	Do.	5	Murder, arson and desecration ..	15	—	—	—
12	Chak Sarkari ..	21-8-47	1	Murder and abduction	57	—	—	4
13	Khanpur Kotora-wala.	Do.	4	Murder and abduction	150	100	—	100
14	Khairpur Tamewali	Do.	3	Murder, loot, conversion and abduction.	150	—	750	5 married girls.
15	Nasirpur	22-8-47	4	Attack and loot	—	1	—	—

16	Chak Salamat ..	23-8-47	2	Loot and conversion	—	—	60	—
17	Jamalpur	23-8-47	5	Loot, abduction, conversion and arson.	—	—	270	17
18	Tahli Talbani ..	24-8-47	4	Loot and conversion	—	—	50	—
19	Lala Amar Singh ..	Do.	6	Murder, loot and desecration ..	3	—	—	—
20	Bindara	Do.	3	Murder, loot and conversion ..	7	10	193	—
21	Qasamke	25-8-47	3	Murder and loot	50	—	—	—
22	Behramka	Do.	3	Loot, conversion and desecration.	—	—	114	—
23	Abbas Nagar ..	Do.	5	Murder, loot and conversion ..	5	—	200	—
24	Dhurpur	Do.	4	Murder, loot, conversion and arson.	1	—	17	—
25	Chishtian	Do.	2	Murder and loot	4,000	—	—	—
26	Risalpur	Do.	2	Murder and loot	1,500	—	—	—
27	Qaimpur	Do.	2	Murder and loot	800	—	—	—
28	Shekhwahan ..	Do.	2	Murder and loot	1,000	—	—	—
29	Dera Bakhan ..	Do.	2	Murder and loot	700	—	—	—
30	Lalsuhara	26-8-47	2	Murder, loot and arson	32	22	—	—
31	Mari Qasam Shah..	27-8-47	3	Murder, loot and conversion ..	15	—	450	—
32	Chak Chopa ..	28-8-47	5	Murder and loot	2	—	—	—
33	Chak Nihala ..	Do.	5	Murder, abduction, conversion and desecration	40	—	E.F.N.A.	—
34	Chak Bhura ..	Do.	5					
35	Kanani	Do.	5	Murder, loot and abduction ..	440	150	—	113
36	Karani	30-8-47	3	Murder, loot and conversion ..	19	—	200	—
37	McLeodganj ..	Mid Sept.	6	Murder and loot	1	3	—	—
38	Bharian	Do.	1	Murder and conversion ..	4	—	50 families	—
39	Bahadurke	Do.	3	Murder, loot and conversion ..	6	3	144	—
40	Swanak	15-9-47	13	Loot and conversion	—	—	180	—
41	Purana Samasata ..	16-9-47	2	Murder, loot and abduction ..	50	—	—	5 young women.
42	Khuh Manga Ram .	26-9-47	1	Murder, loot and conversion ..	2	1	20 families	—

E.F.N.A.—Exact figures not available.

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